Ioanna Karamanou

Euripides

Danae and *Dictys*

Beiträge zur Altertumskunde

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Introduction, Text and Commentary

by
Ioanna Karamanou

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To my Parents

PREFACE

This book originates in my doctoral thesis submitted to the University of London in January 2005. I am hugely indebted to my supervisor at University College London, Professor Chris Carey, for his careful guidance and valuable criticism. I have been extremely fortunate to receive his unstinted interest in and support of my research, as regards the present book and related publications. Warmest and sincerest thanks are due to my examiners, Professor John Wilkins and Dr Nick Lowe, for their very constructive comments coming from their expertise in Greek Drama and for recommending the thesis for publication. I am grateful to Professor Dr Michael Erler and the members of the Board of the *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* for accepting the book for publication in this series. I owe a special debt to Professor Richard Janko, my supervisor during the first year of my PhD research, for encouraging me to deal with this topic and subjecting the first drafts of my work to his robust criticism. I benefited greatly from the expertise of Professor Dr Egert Pöhlmann in staging, of Professors Eric Handley and Axel Seeberg in iconographic evidence and from the philological vigour of Professor Giuseppe Giangrande and Dr Heather White. At the Department of Greek and Latin of University College London, Mr Alan Griffiths kindly read most of this thesis offering stimulating ideas and much advice and Professor Cornelia Roemer initiated me to the exciting field of Papyrology. Warmest thanks are due to Professor Dr Richard Kannicht for so generously sending me the valuable proofs of his text of the *Danae* and *Dictys* a year before the publication of *TrGF* V.

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Finally, the debt to my family cannot be adequately expressed in words. My dear late grandfather, John Xanthakis, has been for me a model of steadfastness and academic zeal. My parents amply offered their affectionate, intellectual and material support throughout my studies and my mother should be credited with inspiring me love for tragedy and fragments. My brother, Yiannis, encouraged me throughout with his good cheer and bright sense of humour. And my husband, Emmanuel, has patiently stood by me all the way from the very beginning, offering great help, inspiration, understanding and moral support.

Athens, *I.K.*
March 2006

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of names of Greek and Latin authors and their works follow those in the Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones (9th edition) and Lewis & Short respectively. Abbreviations of journals are cited after *L' Année Philologique*.

A. C. Austin, *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea in Papyris Reperta* (Berlin 1968)

D.-K. H. Diels - W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin 1952[6])

FGrH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden 1923-1958)

G.-P. A.S.F. Gow - D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965)

J.-v.L. F. Jouan - H. van Looy, *Euripide. Fragments.* 4 Vols (Paris 1998-2003)

K.-A. R. Kassel - C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin 1983-)

Kn. R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.* Vol. V, 1-2: *Euripides* (Göttingen 2004)

Kn.-Sn. R. Kannicht - B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.* Vol. II: *Fragmenta Adespota* (Göttingen 1981)

LfgrE B. Snell, *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1979-)

LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich and Munich 1981-1999)

L.-P. E. Lobel - D.L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1955)

LSJ[9] H.G. Liddell- R. Scott- H. Stuart Jones, *A Greek English Lexicon* (9th edition, Oxford 1940, repr. with supplement 1996)

M. H.J. Mette, *Euripides. Die Bruchstücke. Lustrum* 23/24 (1981-1982)

M.-W. R. Merkelbach - M.L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967)

N.[2] A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1889[2], repr. with supplement by B. Snell, Hildesheim 1964)

OCD[3] S. Hornblower - A. Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition, revised Oxford 2003)

PCG cf. above, K.-A.

PMG D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962)

R. S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol. III: *Aeschylus* (Göttingen 1985), Vol. IV: *Sophocles* (Göttingen 1999[2])

RE *Real – Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart and Munich 1893-1980)

RVAp Suppl. 2 A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *Second Supplement to the Red-figured Vases of Apulia*. 2 Vols (London 1991-1992)

Sn. B. Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol. I: *Didascaliae, Tragici Minores* (Göttingen 1986[2], revised by R. Kannicht)

Sn.- M. B. Snell, *Pindari Carmina cum Fragmentis*. 2 Vols (revised by H. Maehler, Leipzig and Stuttgart 1987-1989)

TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. 5 Vols (cf. above, Kn., Kn.-Sn., R., Sn.)

W.-H. C. Wachsmuth - O. Hense, *I. Stobaei Anthologii Libri I-IV* (Berlin 1884-1894)

Euripides' plays are cited by title only (the abbreviation of Euripides' name is omitted, unless required for reasons of clarity). Of his lost plays the following are abbreviated, according to Collard-Cropp-Lee-Gibert (*Euripides. Selected Fragmentary Plays*. Vols I-II, Warminster and Oxford 1995-2004):

Alcm. Cor.	*Alcmeon in Corinth*
Alcm. Ps.	*Alcmeon in Psophis*
Bell.	*Bellerophon*
Chrys.	*Chrysippus*
Cresph.	*Cresphontes*
Hipp. Cal.	*Hippolytus Calyptomenos*
Hyps.	*Hypsipyle*
Mel. D.	*Melanippe Desmōtis*
Mel. S.	*Melanippe Sophē*
Pha.	*Phaethon*
Sthen.	*Stheneboea*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Introductory Note

The *Danae* and *Dictys* both belong to the Danae-myth, treating the earlier and subsequent phase of the legend, respectively. It is therefore interesting to explore what can be recovered of Euripides' treatments of a myth-cycle unrepresented among extant plays and his dramatic predilections in each one of the two plays. The *Danae* belongs to the group of Euripidean plays dealing with a maiden's clash with her paternal *oikos* owing to her illicit motherhood (cf. *Danae*, Plot-Structure). The *Dictys*, on the other hand, provides a change of scenery from Argos to the island of Seriphos and could be described as a *nostos* play following Euripides' plot-pattern of 'catastrophe survived'[1] (cf. *Dictys*, Plot-Structure). Likewise, it may be observed that other Euripidean treatments of successive phases of the same legend, such as the pairs *Iphigenia in Aulis-Iphigenia in Tauris* and *Melanippe the Wise-Captive Melanippe*, tend to present parallel features; the mythically earlier plays (*Iphigenia in Aulis, Melanippe the Wise*) treat the maiden's separation from her native family, whereas those inspired by subsequent phases of the myth (*Iphigenia in Tauris, Captive Melanippe*) have the scenery transferred to a remote place —presumably suggestive of the heroine's isolation— dealing with the motif of rescue and reunion between kin.

Apart from their mythical affiliation, a full-scale treatment of both tragedies is prompted by the fact that a respectable amount of lines survives from each play, whereas recent iconographic evidence from an Apulian volute-crater combined with literary sources sheds new light on the plot-structure and staging of the *Dictys*. Moreover, as observed below (cf. Plot-Structure of each play), these two tragedies are early treatments of main Euripidean plot-patterns that anticipate more familiar works in the

[1] The term originates in Burnett (1971).

corpus, both extant and fragmentary. With the purpose of exploring the function of these plot-patterns, a cautious recovery of scenes from each play is attempted, on the basis of the evidence of the fragments and testimonia, as well as of tragic conventions and parallel situations from Euripidean drama (cf. section 3: Exploring the Evidence). The *Danae* also calls for a reassessment of ambivalent philological issues, such as the piece that purports to be its 'hypothesis' (T5) and the spurious 'prologue' of [E.] fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix). The commentary aims to shed light on various aspects of Euripidean dramatic technique (such as the *agōn*, cf. *Danae* frr. 8-12, *Dictys* frr. 4, 5, imagery, cf. *Danae* frr. 2, 15), stagecraft (such as the 'cancelled entry' and the imposing opening tableau in the *Dictys,* cf. Setting and note on fr. 1), key themes (the motif of supplication in *Dictys* T3, T4, T5, the precarious position of women in *Danae* frr. 4, 5, 6, the possible self-sacrifice in *Danae* frr. 13, 14, the Euripidean type of the assertive old man in *Dictys* fr. 3), ideas and values (the different definitions of *eugeneia* in *Danae* fr. 9 and *Dictys* fr. 14, the positions for and against wealth in *Danae* frr. 7-12, the consolation in *Dictys* fr. 2, the perception of *eros* as god-sent and overmastering passion in *Dictys* frr. 8, 9, 18). The exploration of issues raised by fragmentary material and the cautious recovery of the two lost plays, so far as possible, seek to complement our knowledge of Euripides' drama by contributing to an overview and more comprehensive picture of the dramatist's technique, as the extant tragedies represent only a small portion of his oeuvre. A detailed study of the two plays seems thus to be well justified.

To address textual problems and issues of transmission, I have re-read the papyri of the testimonia (*Dictys* T4, T6), the Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f° 147^{v}-148^{r} (*Danae* T5 and [E.] fr. 1132 Kn.), mss L and G of Sophocles (*Dictys* fr. 11) and the manuscripts of Stobaeus, where needed. The resulting text differs in some cases from Prof. Kannicht's recent edition (*TrGF* V) and previous editions of Euripidean fragments (*Danae* frr. 3.2, 7.4, 15.2, *Dictys* T4.7, T6.2). There are certain cases where my emendations of the text have happily coincided with Prof. Kannicht's, though made independently (*Danae* fr. 2.7, *Dictys* frr. 2.2, 11.1, 19; they are assigned, of course, to Prof. Kannicht, as his edition preceded my thesis and book). Owing to the multiplicity of sources for the text of the testimonia and fragments of both plays, one may refer to the particular editions cited, as regards the manuscript sigla of each source.

2. The *Danae* and *Dictys* and their Place in the Transmission of Euripides

On the basis of the available evidence, the position of the two plays in the process of transmission of the Euripidean corpus can be explored up to a certain extent.[2] Unlike his own era, the dramatist enjoyed great popularity from the fourth century BC onwards, as emerges from inscriptional evidence with reference to revivals of his plays throughout the Greek speaking world,[3] literary and pictorial testimonies, as well as the reception of his drama in middle and new comedy.[4] The Apulian vase-painting inspired by the *Dictys* and dated in 370/360 BC (*Dictys* T3) is suggestive of a fourth-century performance of the play in South Italy. Likewise, the probable allusion to a performance of his *Danae* in Menander's *Samia* (*Danae* T6) points to its revival in that era.

The official Athenian copy of the plays belonging to the theatrical repertory, which was implemented thanks to Lycurgus' decree of about 330 BC (cf. [Plut.] *Decem Oratorum Vitae* 841F), seems to have been consulted by Aristophanes of Byzantium, while preparing his edition towards the end of the third century (cf. Galen *in Hp. Epid.* III *Comm.* 2. 4);[5] Aristophanes' edition is estimated to have comprised the surviving 78 out of the 92 plays of Euripides' production (cf. *Vita Eur. TrGF* V,1, T 1, IA 28, IB 57f.) arranged alphabetically. The plays not included in the edition, thereby missing the opportunity to be cited by later authors, had evidently been already lost during the fourth century. The satyr play *Theristae*, for instance, is mentioned as lost in Aristophanes' hyp. *Med.* (*Dictys* T1), as opposed to the *Medea, Philoctetes* and *Dictys* of the same production, which were preserved to be included in Aristophanes' edition.

Considering that the evidence for literary treatments of Polydectes' petrification after the fifth century BC is very scanty (cf.

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[2] For a detailed study of Euripidean transmission throughout Antiquity, cf. van Looy (1964) 1-14.

[3] Cf. *TrGF* I, 17-21. For the frequency of revivals of Euripidean plays, cf. Tuilier (1968) 26f., van Looy (1964) 7f.

[4] For Euripides' popularity from the fourth century onwards, cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 28-34, also note on *Dictys* T1. On the reception of his drama in comedy, cf. notes on *Danae* T6 and fr. 6.

[5] Cf. Wartelle (1971) 107-110, 113-115, Pfeiffer (1968) 82, 192, Tuilier (1968) 28-30, 49f., 54.

Dictys, 1d. Later Versions), the depiction of this theme in the Cyzicene relief of the second century BC (*Dictys* T7), in combination with the wide reception of Euripidean drama in this collection of reliefs (cf. note *ad loc.*) and the dramatist's popularity in Hellenistic times, may tell in favour of the appeal of the *Dictys* in that era. Moreover, inscriptional evidence (*Danae* T2) reveals that a copy of the *Danae* was kept in a school library in Piraeus in about 100 BC and thus widely read by that time. Meanwhile, gnomic anthologies of educational character, citing excerpts from Euripides and other authors are estimated to have appeared as early as the fourth century BC;[6] the notorious fr. 7 of the *Danae*, for instance, is cited in a florilegium from Hellenistic Egypt dated in the second century BC.[7] In both cases, part of the appeal of the play for the schoolroom may have been the moralizing about wealth.

The earliest attested commentary on Euripides, in which the roots of the 'selection' of late antiquity may be traced, is that by Didymus in the second half of the first century BC/ early first century AD.[8] The ten plays of the 'selection' (the nine annotated plays plus the *Bacchae*, which is widely held to have belonged to the select plays [9]) must have been eminently popular in Didymus' time and presumably part of the school syllabus.[10] Having been singled out for commentaries, they were given greater chance of long-term survival.[11] This gradual process of canon formation emerges also from the preservation in papyri from the second century BC onwards of fewer unannotated (non-select) plays than those with commentaries.[12] Nevertheless, the fact that non-select plays continued to be performed at least till the end of the second century AD [13] and were

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[6] Cf. Horna (1935) 78f., Barns (1950) 134-137.

[7] Cf. Zereteli and Krüger (1925) 60-62.

[8] There is safe evidence that Didymus wrote *hypomnēmata* at least on six of the select plays, though one cannot tell how many plays altogether he commented on; cf. Pfeiffer (1968) 277.

[9] For this matter, cf. Zuntz (1965) 110-125, Turyn (1957) 311, Barrett (1964) 51 and n.3.

[10] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 254f.

[11] So Easterling (1997) 225, van Looy (1964) 14, Barrett (1964) 53.

[12] Cf. Roberts (1953) 270f.

[13] Cf. Luc. *De Salt.* 27 (with reference to a performance of the *Heracles*), Plut. *Mor.* 556A (*Ino*), 998E (*Cresphontes*), Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 7. 5 (*Ino*), Tatian *Or. ad Gr.* 24. 1 (mime from one of Euripides' *Alcmeon* tragedies). Cf. also Turner (1963) 122-127, pointing out the possible use of the *Cresphontes* papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 2458, 3rd century AD) for dramatic representation, Kokolakis (1960) *passim*, Di Gregorio (1976) 161-164, Zuntz (1965) 255 and n. 7.

still obtainable among literary circles [14] suggests that the encroachment of the 'selection' was a slow process and its influence was limited to the school syllabus by that time. For instance, Lucian's allusion to the context of the situation of *Danae* fr. 7 (*Timon* 41) and perhaps also of fr. 13 (*D. Mar.* 12), as well as the possibility that the rescue of mother and child by the Nereids might reflect Euripides (cf. note on T5), imply that he could have known the play directly. Likewise, the reference to the situation of *Dictys* fr. 2 by the author of the *Consolation to Apollonius* (perhaps written by Plutarch in his youth or by one of his contemporaries [15]) could suggest his direct knowledge of the play. In addition, the performance of a selection of extracts referring to Eros and Aphrodite in Plutarch's time, including *Danae* fr. 8, is at least suggestive of the continuing popularity of themes from the play in that era. At the same time, the narrative hypotheses of Euripides' plays possibly dated in the Imperial period were very popular, saving the toil, which the study of the classical originals entailed.[16] Ps. Apollodorus' account reflecting the plot of the *Dictys* (cf. opening note on *Dictys* T5) presents certain features suggesting that it may have gone back to this collection of narrative hypotheses through intermediary sources.

The establishment of Christianity evidently led to the consolidation of the 'selection', as the parts of pagan tradition standing any chance of long-term survival were only those included in the school syllabus.[17] The size of the 'selection' seems to have been linked also with the capacity of the codex, which prevailed over the roll in about the fourth century, since a single codex could accommodate a poet's most popular plays.[18] Moreover, the trend of excerpting literature for educational purposes and the compilation of gnomic anthologies presenting passages conveniently arranged by subject [19] eventually resulted in only indirect access to non-select plays. The latest known ancient manuscripts of plays

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[14] Cf. the papyri of the *Oedipus* (*P. Oxy.* 2459, 4th AD), *Captive Melanippe* (*P. Berol.* 5514, 4th/ 5th AD) and the palimpsest of the *Phaethon* (Paris, Greek ms. 107B, 5th/ 6th AD). Cf. also the quotations from non-select plays in Luc. *Menipp.* 1 (*HF* 523f.), *J. Trag.* 1 (*HF* 538), D.Chr. *Or.* lii (paraphrasis of the *Philoctetes*), which seem to derive from direct access to these plays, rather than intermediary sources, such as anthologies; cf. Zuntz (1965) 254, 255 and n. 3 and 4.

[15] Cf. Defradas, Hani and Klaerr (1985) 4-12.

[16] Cf. Zuntz (1955) 139-142, 146, van Rossum (1998) 31.

[17] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 256, Reynolds and Wilson (1991[3]) 53f., van Looy (1964) 14.

[18] Cf. Roberts (1955) 203, Zuntz (1965) 256, Barrett (1964) 53, Easterling and Knox (1985) 36.

[19] On this topic, cf. Morgan (1998) 120-151, Cribiore (2001_b) 248f., Barns (1950) 135-137.

outside the 'selection' are the papyri of the *Oedipus* and *Captive Melanippe* dated in the fourth/ fifth century and the palimpsest of the *Phaethon* dated in the fifth/ sixth century (cf. n. 14). The spurious fr. 1132 Kn. written some time between the fourth and seventh century AD points to the appeal of Euripides and of the earlier phase of Danae's myth in late antiquity; nevertheless, if it was an independent composition (e.g. a rhetorical exercise imitating a Euripidean opening on Danae's legend), rather than a specially composed supplement for the lost beginning of the *Danae* in an alphabetic collection of Euripides' plays (the latter is West's assumption[20]), it would not tell us much about the survival of the play by that time (cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). The majuscule manuscripts of the text of the 'selection', presumably written in about the sixth or seventh century, were transcribed into minuscule possibly in about the tenth century.[21] A copy of the nine 'alphabetic', non-select plays evidently originating in an ancient manuscript in uncial seems to have been possessed by Eustathius in the twelfth century. It was discovered by Triclinius, who made from it the copy which became the model of Ms L (Laur. 32. 2); the latter, in turn, formed the basis of the text of the 'alphabetic' plays in Ms P (Pal. Gr. 287 and Laur. Conv. Soppr. 172).[22]

3. Exploring the Evidence: The Sources and Recovery of the Plot

The direct evidence for Euripides' lost plays comprises their surviving fragments, which may be either papyrus (or parchment) fragments coming from the plays as such or book-fragments, that is, excerpts or quotations in the works of other authors. The indirect evidence consists of the testimonia for the plays, either textual or artistic.[23]

The lack of papyrus-fragments coming from the text of the *Danae* and *Dictys*,[24] which, in the case of the *Danae* in particular, may be a matter

[20] Cf. West (1981) 78, n. 49.
[21] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 261, Barrett (1964) 57f.
[22] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 185, 192.
[23] On the distinction between direct and indirect evidence, cf. Collard (2005) 49-51, Laks (1997) 237-239. For a thorough survey of the various sources for Euripidean fragments, cf. van Looy (1964) 14-57.
[24] The two surviving papyrus-fragments (*Dictys* fr. 1 and *Danae* fr. 7) are excerpts coming from later works and not from the plays as such.

of coincidence rather than an indication of lesser popularity (cf. *Danae*, Reception), leaves fragments cited by later authors as the sole direct source. In the latter case, it should be taken into account that the nature of the selected passage and the manner, in which the text is cited, primarily depends on the author's reasons for quoting it.[25] Most of the present material comes from Stobaeus' fifth-century AD compilation (*Danae* frr. 1-15, except for fr. 10a, *Dictys* frr. 3-10, 12-18), which draws on earlier anthologies.[26] The generalising character of gnomic excerpts entails problems of locating the fragments within the play. Preservation in gnomic anthologies also has implications for the state of the text, mainly due to the compilers' trend to render the quotations self-contained (cf. note on *Danae* fr. 4.1).[27] Philodemus (the sole source for *Dictys* fr. 1) often quotes anonymously,[28] usually with no reference to the context, making it difficult to identify the citation confidently in the case of fragments, for which he is the only source. Plutarch, whose work of youth could have been the source for *Dictys* fr. 2, also tends to quote anonymously, though by mentioning the speaker, the addressee and briefly the situation, he generally makes the identification of the play possible and may even give hints at the location of the fragment within the play.[29] The ancient scholia are often a helpful source, particularly when a fragment is cited as a parallel to the commented passage,[30] which, in certain cases, may give scope for exploring its context (cf. *Dictys* fr. 11). The least helpful sources for locating a fragment within a play are evidently lexicographical citations (cf. *Danae* fr. 16, *Dictys* fr. 19), preserving words completely isolated from their context.

The indirect evidence needs also to be assessed in terms of its reliability and degree of access to the play. The reliability of inscriptional evidence, for instance, cannot be disputed (cf. the catalogues of Euripidean plays in *Danae* T2 and T3= *Dictys* T2), though it is mainly informative on questions of transmission, rather than matters of form and content. Alexandrian scholarship constitutes a solid source as well; the *Dictys* is

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[25] On the difficulties in treating fragmentary material surviving thanks to quotation, cf. Gill (2005) 151-158, Dionisotti (1997) 1f.

[26] For the prevalence of Euripidean citations in Stobaeus' *Florilegium*, cf. Kannicht (1997) 68-71, Kassel (1991) 248f.

[27] Cf. West (1973) 18.

[28] Cf. van Looy (1964) 24 and n. 4 with examples.

[29] Cf. Plutarch's citations of *Cresph.* fr. 456 Kn., *Hyps.* fr. 754 Kn., *Pha.* fr. 783a Kn. and van Looy (1964) 27 and n. 3.

[30] So *Antigone* fr. 159 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 241 Kn., *Bell.* fr. 305 Kn., *Cresph.* frr. 452, 455 Kn., *Oedipus* fr. 541 Kn.

safely dated thanks to hyp. *Med.* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (*Dictys* T1). There are cases where the pieces of evidence complement each other and thus assist in retrieving the outline of the lost play;[31] the accounts of Theon (*Dictys* T4) and the *Bibliotheca* (*Dictys* T5) could not be confidently regarded as reflecting the plot of the *Dictys* without the further evidence provided in the Apulian pictorial representation of the supplication of Danae and Dictys (*Dictys* T3). Yet, iconographic evidence should be approached with reasonable caution;[32] as regards tragedy-related South-Italian vase-paintings, in particular, it should be borne in mind that they hardly aim at an accurate, 'photographic' illustration of scenes, but rather seem to offer their viewers a recollection of key-themes from the plays by which they are inspired (cf. note on *Dictys* T3). The combination of evidence of T3, T4 and T5, in turn, assists in identifying with much probability *Dictys* T6 as a small scrap of the narrative papyrus hypothesis of the play and in supplementing the name of the god, at whose altar Danae and Dictys have sought refuge.

On the other hand, there are sources, whose reliability should be questioned; the validity, for instance, of what purports to be the 'hypothesis' of the *Danae* (*Danae* T5) could be contested for a number of reasons in combination (cf. note *ad loc.*). In addition, testimonies depending on the arbitrary and oversimplifying interpretation of sources or on anecdotological material, such as those of Pollux (*Danae* T1) and Satyrus (*Danae* fr. 10a) respectively, need to be treated with due caution. One should also distinguish between cases of direct inspiration (cf. Menander in *Danae* T6) and indirect access to the play (cf. John Malalas' testimony in *Danae* T4).

The lack of papyri from the text of either play and of a well preserved hypothesis evidently limits the scope for a recovery of the details of the plot. My purpose therefore is, first, to assign the fragments to the dramatic characters relying on the evidence of the testimonia and on interrogation of the fragments in terms of theme, gender of speaker and interlocutor, where possible, the speaker's emotional state, rhetoric and ethical stance. Subsequently, I attempt to locate the fragments into scenes, on the basis of the testimonies for the broad plot of the play, particular hints of the fragments at the dramatic situation, parallels from Euripidean scene-construction and tragic conventions. In this effort, commentary writing assists in the close interrogation of the fragmentary material, with

[31] On the combination of literary and pictorial evidence for the recovery of the plot of lost tragedies, cf. Kannicht (1997) 76f.

[32] For this matter, cf. Green (1991) 38-44.

the purpose of retrieving as much as possible from each play. Moreover, remarks made in particular notes in the commentary are gathered and summarized in the introduction to each fragment, which addresses matters of location, key-themes and aspects of Euripidean dramatic technique.

The numbering of the fragments follows their proposed location in scenes, while those, whose position cannot be fixed with much probability, are placed at the end as 'fragmenta sedis magis incertae'. The order of the testimonia is congruent with the extent of information for the play that they provide, as well as the degree of their reliability. There are cases where the association of certain testimonia with either play is contested (cf. notes on *Danae* T5 and *Dictys* T7); yet, their proposed relation to the plays by some scholars calls for their inclusion among the testimonia and for a further exploration and fresh assessment of their validity.

EURIPIDES' *DANAE*

1. The Legend: The Events in Argos

The legend of Danae and Perseus enjoyed great popularity in Antiquity, inspiring a wide range of literary and artistic treatments. Euripides' *Danae* draws on the earlier phase of the myth with Argos as place of action, while his *Dictys* is inspired by the subsequent events at Seriphos (cf. *Dictys*, The Legend). Before studying Euripides' treatment of the early stage of the Danae-myth, it is essential to go through the sources prior and subsequent to his play, with the purpose of establishing the mythical background of his production, as well as exploring the appeal and versions of the myth in different periods of time (The possible cases of reception of the *Danae* are discussed in the relevant chapter).

1a. The Mythical Background

Danae was the beautiful daughter of Acrisius, son of Abas [1] and king of Argos, and of his wife Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon.[2] Her fine physical appearance is described in the epics with the fixed epithets *καλλίσφυρος* (*Il.* 14. 319 and schol. Eust. *ad loc.*, Hes. fr. 129.14 M.-W.) and *ἠύκομος* (*Aspis* 216).[3]

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[1] Hes. frr. 129, 135 M.-W., E. *Archel.* fr. 228b. 5ff. Kn., also schol. *Hec.* 886b (Schwartz), Paus. 2. 16. 2, [Apollod.] 2. 1.

[2] Hes. fr. 129 M.-W., Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler/ *FGrH* 3 F10, schol. T ad *Il.* 14.319 (Erbse), [Apollod.] 2. 2.1. Tzetzes' reference to Eurydice as daughter of Eurotas in his scholium on Lyc. 838 (Scheer) may well be due to a misunderstanding of the known genealogy, according to which Lacedaemon, Eurydice's father, was Eurotas' son in-law (Paus. 3. 1.2, [Apollod.] 3. 10.3, schol. *Or.* 626 Schwartz), which makes Eurydice Eurotas' grand-daughter, rather than his daughter. On the other hand, Hyginus (*fab.* 63) oddly calls Danae's mother Aganippe, possibly due to confusion (cf. *Dictys*, The Legend: 1d. Later Versions).

[3] For Danae's beauty, cf. also Pi. *N.* 10. 10ff., *A.P.* 5. 257, Theophyl. *Ep.* 81, schol. Eust. *Il.* 14. 315-27 (van der Valk), schol. rec. Pi. *P.* 12. 9ff. (Abel). Danae is presented as a model of beauty in Greg. Naz. *Carm. Mor.* 29. 139ff.

The earliest attested complete account of Danae's adventures occurs in Pherecydes (fr. 10 Fowler/ *FGrH* 3 F10) [4] and has survived in summarized form in the ancient scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes (4. 1091 Wendel): the genealogist narrates how Acrisius imprisoned his daughter in an underground bronze chamber together with her nurse, on the basis of an oracle saying that he would be killed by the son born from Danae. Zeus, however, managed to impregnate Danae by transforming himself into a shower of gold and their offspring, Perseus, was hidden from his grandfather. When Acrisius found out about the child accidentally by hearing its shouts, he killed the nurse and, taking Danae to the altar of Zeus Herkeios, demanded to know who the child's father was. When Danae answered that it was Zeus, Acrisius did not believe her and enclosed both mother and son in a chest, which he cast adrift. The chest reached the coast of Seriphos, where it was fished up by a fisherman named Dictys, son of Peristhenes, who took Danae and Perseus under his protection, treating them as his own family. The text of the scholiast runs as follows:[5]

Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ β΄ ἱστορεῖ, ὡς Ἀκρίσιος γαμεῖ Εὐρυδίκην τὴν Λακεδαίμονος· τῶν δὲ γίνεται Δανάη.[6] χρωμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ ἄρσενος παιδὸς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Πυθοῖ, ὅτι αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔσται παῖς ἄρσην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς θυγατρός, πρὸς οὗ αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἄργος θάλαμον ποιεῖ χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, ἔνθα τὴν Δανάην εἰσάγει μετὰ τροφοῦ· ἐν ᾧ αὐτὴν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπως ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖς μὴ γένηται. ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ζεὺς τῆς παιδός, ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου χρυσῷ παραπλήσιος ῥεῖ, ἡ δὲ ὑποδέχεται τῷ κόλπῳ· καὶ ἐκφήνας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ παιδὶ

1 β΄ Matthiae: ἐν ϛ ιβ΄ L || 4 ἀπολεῖσθαι Keil: ἀπολέσθαι L: δεῖ ἀπολέσθαι F: ἀπολέεσθαι Jacoby : aliter P || 6-7 ἐν ᾧ αὐτὴν ἐφύλασσεν L: φυλάσσων αὐτὴν P

[4] Pherecydes' *Genealogy* is estimated to have appeared some time between 508 and 475 BC; cf. Jacoby (1947) 33.

[5] The text followed is Fowler's.

[6] The scholiast appears to have maintained Pherecydes' own words in this sentence and below (l. 10: τῶν δὲ γίνεται Περσεύς), to judge from the phrasing in actual quotations from Pherecydes' text in frr. 2, 8, 20, 21, 66, 101 Fowler.

μίγνυται. τῶν δὲ γίνεται Περσεύς, καὶ ἐκτρέφει αὐτὸν ἡ Δανάη καὶ ἡ τροφὸς κρύπτουσαι Ἀκρίσιον. ὅτε δὲ Περσεὺς τριέτης καὶ τετραέτης ἐγένετο, ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῆς φωνῆς παίζοντος, καὶ διὰ τῶν θεραπόντων μετακαλεσάμενος τὴν Δανάην σὺν τῇ τροφῷ, τὴν μὲν ἀναιρεῖ, Δανάην δὲ καταφέρει σὺν τῷ παιδὶ ἐπὶ τὸν {ὑπὸ τὸ} Ἐρκείου Διὸς βωμόν. μόνος δὲ αὐτὴν ἐρωτᾷ πόθεν εἴη αὐτῇ γεγονὼς ὁ παῖς· ἡ δὲ ἔφη, ἐκ Διός. ὁ δὲ οὐ πείθεται, ἀλλ' εἰς λάρνακα ἐμβιβάζει αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ κλείσας καταποντοῖ. καὶ φερόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σέριφον τὴν νῆσον. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλκει Δίκτυς ὁ Περισθένους, δικτύῳ ἁλιεύων. εἶτα ἡ Δανάη ἀνοῖξαι ἱκετεύει τὴν λάρνακα, ὁ δὲ ἀνοίξας, καὶ μαθὼν οἵτινές εἰσιν, ἄγει εἰς τὸν οἶκον καὶ τρέφει, ὡς ἂν συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ ὄντας. ἦσαν γὰρ ὁ Δίκτυς καὶ ὁ Πολυδέκτης Ἀνδροθόης τῆς Κάστορος καὶ Περισθένους τοῦ Δαμάστορος, τοῦ Ναυπλίου, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης, ὡς Φερεκύδης ἐν α'.[7]

10 μίγνυται L: μίσγεται P || 11-12 καὶ τετραέτης L: ἢ καὶ τετραέτης P || 14 Δανάην δὲ καταφέρει L H F: Δανάη δὲ καταφεύγει Fraenkel : καταγαγὼν . . . μόνον ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὴν P || 15 ὑπὸ τὸ del. Sturz | Ἐρκείου Sturz: ἑρκίου F: Ἐρκίον fere codd.: Ὀρκίου West || 23 Κάστορος F: περὶ Κάστορος L: Περικάστορος P

The oracle leading Acrisius to imprison Danae in a bronze chamber,[8] Zeus' transformation into a shower of gold [9] and the exposure of Danae and

[7] According to Pherecydes' genealogy, Dictys' treatment of Danae and Perseus as his own family could have to do with his own descent from Danaus; cf. Jacoby (1923-1958) *ad loc.*

[8] For the oracle, cf. [Apollod.] 2. 4.1 followed by Zenob. *Cent.* 1. 41, Hyg. *fab.* 63, schol. Luc. *Gall.* 13 (Rabe), D-scholium *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel), Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133, schol. Tzetz. Lyc. 838 (Scheer). Thomas Magister on [A.] *Pr.* 903 (Smyth) mentions an oracle saying that Acrisius' grandson would dethrone him. For Danae's bronze chamber, cf. E. *Archelaus* fr. 228b.7 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*), *A.P.* 5. 64.6, 217, Paus. 2. 23.7 (and Frazer 1898, *ad loc.*), D. Chr. *Or.* lxxvii/ lxxviii 31, Prop. 2. 31.29, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16. 1, Paus. 10. 5. 11, Luc. *Men.* 2, *Salt.* 44, Ael. *N.A.* 12. 21, schol. in Luc. *Gall.* 13 (Rabe), Lib. *Or.* xxxiv 29, *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 47. 543ff., D-scholium *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel), Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133 and for the relevant passage in S. *Ant.* 944ff., cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy. *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 126a Kn.-Sn. is likely to refer to Danae's chamber. For slight variations evidently originating in later versions, cf. Prop. 2. 20.9ff., Lucian (*Tim.* 13) and schol. Tzetz. Lyc. 838 (Scheer) referring to an iron chamber; for a stone prison, cf. Hyg. *fab.* 63 and for Danae's imprisonment in a tower rather than a chamber, cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3. 415f., *Am.* 2. 19.27f., 3. 4.21f., 3. 8.29, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16.1, Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133.

[9] For Zeus' transformation, cf. Pi. *P.* 12. 17 and schol. *ad loc.* (Drachmann), A. *Pers.* 79f. and schol. *ad loc.* (Dahnhardt), S. *Ant.* 950, E. *Archelaus* fr. 228. 9f. Kn., *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 619. 2 Kn.-Sn., Isoc. x 59, Lyc. 838 (and Fusillo, Hurst and Paduano 1991, *ad loc.*), *A.P.* 5. 64, 9. 48, 12. 20, [Erat.] *Cat.* 22, Ter. *Eun.* 588f., Ov. *Met.* 4. 610f., 697f., 11. 116f., *Am.* 3. 12.33f., Lucan. 9. 659ff., Stat. *Silv.* 1. 2. 134-6, Hyg. *fab.* 63, D. Chr. *Or.* lxxvii/ lxxviii 31,

Perseus in the floating chest [10] recur in most accounts of the legend. Nevertheless, Pherecydes' narrative provides interesting details, which are not found in later accounts, such as the figure of Danae's nurse, who appears also in several vase-paintings dated in the first half of the fifth century (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' figg. 2, 6, perhaps also fig. 1, *LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' fig. 45). The nurse is a stock character in Euripides (especially in plays involving female intrigue, as the *Hippolytus, Stheneboea* and those sharing the tale-pattern of the *Danae,* cf. Plot-Structure), though her role in his *Danae* may only be inferred on grounds of probability (cf. *Dramatis Personae*).[11] Pherecydes is also the sole mythical source to clearly mention that Zeus revealed himself to Danae after sneaking into her chamber in the form of golden shower. Moreover, the connotations of Acrisius' dragging Danae to the altar of Zeus Herkeios are significant, as this particular cult protected blood ties and the integrity of the family, defining the framework within which the head of the *oikos* exercised his authority (cf. note on fr. 4.4).[12] Zeus Herkeios was also a guardian of oaths [13] and his cult was popular in Greek cities, including Argos,[14] as early as Homer (*Od.* 22. 334f.). Acrisius thus binds Danae to reveal the truth by appealing to their kinship and his own power over his daughter, at the altar of a god honoured by Argive families. An eloquent parallel is provided in Hdt. 6. 68, where Demaratus adjures his mother at the altar of the same god to reveal to him the identity of his father.[15]

A reference to Perseus' divine origin occurs as early as Homer, in a scene where Zeus enumerates his love affairs with mortal women, referring to Danae's beauty and Perseus, 'most glorious among men' (*Il.*

Luc. *J.Tr.* 2.7, Ach. Tat. 2. 37.2, schol. Pi. *I.* 7. 5 (Drachmann) and Bresson (1980) 125f., Justin. *Dial. cum Tryph.* 67. 2, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 7. 120, 8. 290ff., 25. 113ff., 47. 516ff., 543ff., schol. Stat. *Theb.* 6. 286f. (Sweeney), schol. rec. [A.] *Pr.* 903 (Smyth). For Danae's union with Zeus, cf. also Hecat. fr. 21 Fowler/ *FGrH* 1 F21, Luc. *Dial. D.* 4. 2, Nonn. *D.* 7. 355, 16. 239, 46. 30, schol. rec. Ar. *Nu.* 1081 (Koster).

[10] Cf. A.R. 4. 1091, Hyg. *fab.* 63, Luc. *D. Mar.* 12. 1, 14. 1, Ach. Tat. 2. 36. 4, 37.4, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41, Nonn. *D.* 10. 113, D-scholium *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel). For Hes. fr. 135. 2-5 M.-W. and Simonides *PMG* fr. 543, cf. the discussion below.

[11] For the role of the nurse in pre-tragic myths, cf. for instance, the figure of Orestes' nurse in A. *Ch.* 731-782, who is anticipated, though in a different name, in Pherecydes (fr. 134 Fowler) and Pindar (*P.* 11. 18, cf. schol. vet. *ad loc.*).

[12] Priam's murder at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, for instance, alludes to the devastation of his household (cf. *Tr.* 17).

[13] Cf. Nenci (1998) 234.

[14] Cf. Nilsson (1967[3]) I 125 and Farnell (1896-1909) I 54.

[15] I owe this parallel to Mr A. Griffiths.

14. 319-20):[16] οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρισιώνης,/ ἣ τέκε Περσῆα πάντων ἀριδείκετον ἀνδρῶν. His genealogy is given in Hes. fr. 129 M.-W.: ἣ δ' ἔτεκεν Δανά]ην κ[α]λλίσφυρο[ν ἐν μεγά]ρ[οισιν,/ ἣ Περσῆ' ἔτεκεν κρα]τε[ρὸ]ν μ[ήσ]τωρ[α] φόβοιο and fr. 135. 2-5 M.-W.:

....] Ἄβας· ὃ δ' ἄρ' Ἀκρίσιον τέ[κεθ' υἱόν.
.... Πε] ρσῆα, τὸν εἰς ἅλα λά [ρνακι
.... ἀ] νέτειλε Διὶ χρυσει[
....] η Περσῆα φίλον τ[

There is no trace of a reference to Danae's birth in the preserved part of fr. 135 and the reasonable assumption would be that the poet may have reverted to her and Perseus from fr. 129 (after his account of Proetus' family) perhaps by employing the *ἠ' οἵη* formula.[17] Though the context of the account of Perseus' birth cannot be safely restored, if West's attractive conjecture is taken into consideration (3-5: ἡ δ' ἔτεκεν Πε]ρσῆα, τὸν εἰς ἅλα λά[ρνακι κοίλῃ/ ἐκβληθεῖσ' ἀ]νέτειλε Διὶ χρύσει[ον ἄνακτα,/ χρυσογενῆ Περσῆα), it looks as if Danae might have given birth to Perseus in the floating chest in Hesiod's version (cf. *LSJ*[9] s.v. ἀνατέλλω: 'to give birth'); this possibility may tentatively suggest a variation of the myth.[18]

Danae's lament in the chest is the focus of a sensitive fragmentary poem by Simonides (*PMG* fr. 543):[19]

ὅτε λάρνακι ἐν δαιδαλέᾳ
ἄνεμός τε μιν πνέων <ἐφόρει>
κινηθεῖσά τε λίμνα,
δείματι φρίττεν οὔτ' ἀδιάντοισι παρειαῖς

1 δαιδαλέᾳ V: δαιδαλαίᾳ P M || 2 τε μιν Schneidewin: τε μὴν P M : τ' ἐμῇ V: βρέμη s: τε μέμηνε Page : τε, νιν post ὅτε translato coni. Hutchinson || 3 τε Brunck: δὲ codd. || 4 δείματι V: δεῖ ματι P: δεῖμα M | φρίττεν Usener-Radermacher: ἔριπεν P: ἔρειπεν M V

[16] For Perseus' divine origin, cf. also Hdt. 6. 53, 7. 61, Isoc. xi 37, D.S. 4. 9.2, schol. vet. and Pl. *Alc. I* 120E (Westerink), Hyg. *fab.* 155, Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5. 17.4, Eus. *Praep.* 2. 2.17, schol. Arat. 249 (Martin), Myth.Vat. 1. 201, 2. Suppl. 273.
[17] Cf. West (1985) 49, 82.
[18] Cf. Gantz (1993) 300.
[19] I am citing the text and rich apparatus by Usener and Radermacher, whilst adding conjectures made by Page and Hutchinson.

ἀμφί τε Περσέι βάλλε φίλαν χέρα
εἶπέν τε· ὦ τέκος,
οἷον ἔχω πόνον, οὐ δάνιᾷ σε·
γαλαθηνῶι δ' ἤθεϊ κνοώσσεις
ἐν ἀτερπέι δούρατι χαλκεογόμφωι δίχα νυκτὸς ἀλαμπεῖ
κυανέωι τε δνόφωι σταλείς.
ἄλμαν δ' ὕπερθεν τεᾶν κομᾶν βαθεῖαν
παριόντος κύματος οὐκ ἀλέγεις
οὐδ' ἀνέμου φθόγγον, πορφυρέᾳ
κείμενος ἐν χλανίδι πρὸς κόλπωι καλόν πρόσωπον.
εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν,
καί κεν ἐμῶν ῥημάτων λεπτὸν ὑπεῖχες οὖας.
κέλομαι· εὕδε βρέφος,
εὑδέτω δὲ πόντος, εὑδέτω ἄμετρον κακόν.
μεταβουλία δέ τις φανείη,
Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἐκ σέο·
ὅ τι δὴ θαρσαλέον ἔπος εὔχομαι
νόσφι δίκας, σύγγνωθί μοι

οὔτ' M V: οὐτ' P : οὐκ Thiersch | ἀδίαν τοῖσι P : ἀδιανταῖσι V : ἀδειαντῆσι (-οῖσι[a.c.] ?) M || 6 τέκος Gudianus, Athen. IX, 396E : τεκν(ος) P : τέκνον M V || 7 οὐδ' P M V : σὺ δ' Athen. || 7-8 οὐ δάνιᾷ σε γαλαθηνῶι δ' ἤθεϊ Usener-Radermacher: αυταις ἐγαλαθηνωδει θει P V: αὐταῖς ἀγαλαθηνώ (λ corr. ex ν) δει (θει κνωσσεις syllabis spatium circ. IV litt. relictum) M : αὖτε εἰς γαλαθηνῷ δ' ἤτορι Ath.: ἀωτεῖς Casaubon : ἤθεϊ Bergk || 8 κνοώσσεις PV: κνώσσεις M, Athen. || 9 δούρατι Gudianus: δούνατι P M: δούναντι V : δώματι s | δίχα νυκτὸς ἀλαμπεῖ Usener-Radermacher: <τῶι> δε (suppl. Page) νυκτιλαμπεῖ Ursinus: δενυκτι λαμπεῖ P M V, ἀλαμπεῖ praeiuit Ilgen || 10 σταλείς Bergk: ταδ' εἰς codd.: ταθείς Schneidewin: τ' ἀδεής Headlam || 11 ἄλμαν δ' Bergk: ἄχναν Page: αὐλέαν vel αὐλαίαν codd. || 14 πρὸς κόλπωι καλόν πρόσωπον Usener-Radermacher : πρόσωπον καλόν πρόσωπον P : πρόσωπον καλόν M V || 15 δέ τοι Usener-Radermacher : δέ τι M | ἦν Sylburg: ἦι P: ἢ M: ἢ V || 16 λεπτὸν s: λεπτῶν P M V || 19 μεταβουλία edd.: μαιτ(α)βουλία P: μαιτ(α)βουλίου M: ματαιοβουλία V || 21 ὅτι δὴ codd. : ὅττι δὲ Bergk : εἰ δέ τι Hutchinson : εἴ τι δὲ Schaefer || 22 νόσφι δίκας Victorius: ηνοφι δίκας P: ἦν ὀφειδίας M V: κνόφι δίκας Gudianus | σύγγνωθί μοι P M : om. V

The decorated chest, in which mother and son are imprisoned, is subject to the wild forces of nature (cf. opening note on fr. 15 for the imagery of the transformations of *aethēr* and its implications for Danae's situation); the description of the uncontrollable physical environment serves as a reflection of Danae's helplessness. The bronze bolts of the chest are

suggestive of the firm confinement of mother and son [20] and are also reminiscent of the bronze chamber, that is, Danae's previous prison, pointing to the possible roots of the legend in the Bronze Age (cf. also *Dictys,* 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 124).[21] To illustrate the tenderness of Danae's address to baby Perseus, Simonides is employing the vocabulary of the child's physical appearance and habits (ll. 8, 11, 14, 16, cf. introductory note on *Danae* fr. 13). The baby is completely cut off from the situation, which makes her isolation even more poignant.[22] Her speech culminates at an emotional –though respectful and submissive– plea to Zeus to change their fate for the better (cf. on the other hand, her strong protest in A. *Dictyulci* fr. 47a 783f. R.).[23] An Attic red-figure lekythos of ca. 460 BC (*LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' fig. 53) depicting Danae and Perseus in the floating chest with the sea-birds flying above them recalls the setting of Simonides' poem.[24]

Pherecydes' account is roughly followed in [Apollod.] *Bibliotheca* 2. 4.1:

'Ακρισίῳ δὲ περὶ παίδων γενέσεως ἀρρένων χρηστηριαζομένῳ ὁ θεὸς ἔφη γενέσθαι παῖδα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρός, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ. δείσας δὲ ὁ 'Ακρίσιος τοῦτο, ὑπὸ γῆν θάλαμον κατασκευάσας χάλκεον τὴν Δανάην ἐφρούρει. ταύτην μέν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔφθειρε Προῖτος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη· ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασι, Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθεὶς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰσρυεὶς κόλπους συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ 'Ακρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα μὴ πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι, τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν. προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερίφῳ Δίκτυς ἄρας ἀνέθρεψε τοῦτον.

2 ἀποκτενεῖ E: ἀποκτείνῃι A, Zenobius || 3 δὲ ὁ E, Zenobius: οὖν A || 11 ἀνέθρεψε E: ἀνέτρεφε A, Zenobius

This account accords with the outline of Pherecydes' narrative, whilst omitting certain details mentioned by the genealogist, such as the figure of

[20] Cf. Hutchinson (2001) 314.
[21] For the possibly Mycenean origin of the bronze chamber, cf. Janko's note (1992) on *Il.* 14. 319 and Helbig (1887) 439f.
[22] Cf. Rosenmeyer (1991) 11f., 18-25. For the difference between their two states of mind, cf. Carson (1999) 57f., Burnett (1985) 13f.
[23] Cf. Hutchinson (2001) 319f.
[24] Cf. Woodward (1937) 66, Hutchinson (2001) 307.

the nurse and the incident at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, since they are obviously not essential for the sequence of the story.[25] The sole additional element in the present account is the rationalistic variant of Danae's seduction by her uncle Proetus; considering that accession to the throne in Heroic Age Greece was often the outcome of marriage to a king's daughter,[26] Danae's rape by her uncle could be explained by an endogamic logic assuring that the power would remain in the hands of a single dynastic group.[27] The D-scholium on *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel), a part of which presents a striking resemblance to the narrative of the *Bibliotheca*, attributes this variant to Pindar, among other authors: αὕτη δὲ, ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος καὶ ἕτεροι τινές, ἐφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτῆς Προίτου, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη.[28] However, the papyrus-text of the Pindaric dithyramb (fr. 70d. 13ff. Sn.-M. =Pi. *Dith. Oxy.* 4. 13ff.), which was tentatively supposed to have provided this piece of information,[29] seems likelier to refer to Danae's forced cohabitation with Polydectes and his petrification (cf. *Dictys*, 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 125f.). Nonetheless, even if this treatment is lost by now, the scholiast's testimony on the Pindaric variant is consistent with the poet's inclination towards modifying and adjusting well-known myths to suit his poetic purposes.[30]

For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that Acrisius left Argos and fled to Larissa, in the land of Pelasgoi, to avoid being killed by his grandson. Perseus, however, participated in athletic games at

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[25] Cf. van der Valk (1958) 118.

[26] Cf. Finkelberg (1991) 303ff.

[27] Cf. Scarpi (1997[3]) 495. An eloquent parallel may be found in [Apollod.] 1. 9. 8-11, where Cretheus marries his brother's daughter, Tyro, whom he has raised in his own house. Likewise, the daughter of Pheres marries her paternal uncle. Vernant (1980, 59f.) interestingly traced in this motif the mythical roots of the *epiclērate* legislated by Solon to ensure the survival of the *oikos*; for this law, cf. note on fr. 4. 2. In Ovid *Met.* 5. 236ff., Proetus is mentioned as petrified by Perseus for seizing Acrisius' citadel. Hyginus (*fab.* 244), in turn, refers to Perseus' murder by Megapenthes, son of Proetus, to avenge his father' s death.

[28] There are a number of cases where the mythographical D-Scholia and the *Bibliotheca* present strong similarities; cf. Wagner (1926[2]) xxxiv f. and van der Valk (1963) 305ff. It seems likely that the source of the D-Scholium, the 'Mythographus Homericus', followed Ps. Apollodorus, but must have also consulted other sources, as emerges from the attribution of the variant to Pindar, as well as from the reference to the version, according to which Perseus was raised by Polydectes; cf. *Dictys,* The Legend: 1d. Later Versions.

[29] Cf. Snell-Maehler *ad loc.*

[30] Cf. for instance, his modification of the story of Pelops in *O.* 1. 27, so as to avoid irreverence towards gods, and other cases where he adjusts his poetry to the tastes of his patrons; cf. Bowra (1964) 285ff.

Larissa throwing the discus, which accidentally struck his grandfather's foot and killed him.[31] This story seems to have been treated in Sophocles' *Larissaei* (cf. below, The Legend in Attic Tragedy). Ashamed of claiming his grandfather's throne in Argos, Perseus exchanged it for Tiryns, leaving the kingship of Argos to Proetus' son, Megapenthes, and founded Mycenae (for the foundation of Mycenae, cf. *Dictys*, 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy).

The exposure of a hero (often a divine offspring) as a baby, his miraculous survival and eventual restoration to his proper status constitute a common tale-pattern found with a degree of variation in a wide range of Greek and non-Greek sources.[32] This pattern is represented, for instance, in the well-known tales of Jason (the subject of Pi. *P.* 4, cf. also schol. Lyc. 175 Scheer), Cyrus (cf. Hdt. 1. 108-121), Erichthonius (cf. E. *Ion* 20-26, 268-274, 1427-1429, Hyg. *fab.* 166, [Apollod.] 3. 14.6), Romulus and Remus (cf. Livy 1. 3-4, D.H. 1. 76-79.10, Plut. *Rom.* 3-7), as well as those which provided rich material for tragedy, such as the story of Oedipus, Ion, Telephus (the subject of E. *Auge*, cf. also *Telephus* fr. 696 Kn.[33]), Alexandros (*Alexandros*, possibly also S. *Alexandros* [34]), Hippothoon (E. *Alope* [35]), Amphion and Zethus (E. *Antiope* [36]), Neleus and Pelias (S. *Tyro* A and B [37]), Aeolus and Boeotus (E. *Melanippe the Wise* and *Captive Melanippe* [38]).[39] Holley, in particular, associated the seclusion and ordeal in the floating chest with rites of consecration of the young hero and his mother;[40] their miraculous rescue seems to demonstrate the child's divine election and predestination, as well as his mother's innocence [41] (for

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[31] Cf. Pherecyd. fr. 12 Fowler/ *FGrH* 3 F12. Ps. Apollodorus (2. 4. 4) followed by Tzetzes (schol. Lyc. 838) mentions that the games at Larissa were held in honour of Teutamides' father. On Acrisius' death, cf. also Paus. 2. 16.2f., Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 3. 45.1, Hyg. *fab.* 273, schol. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 255 (Sweeney).

[32] Cf. Lewis (1980) *passim*, Binder (1975) 1048-1065 and Thompson's inventory (1955-1958[2]) Vol. 5, S 312, 313, 322, 351, 352, 371. For the motif of supernatural birth with a focus on Perseus, cf. Hartland (1894) *passim.* For further relevant bibliography, cf. Trenkner (1958) 36, n. 3.

[33] For the myth, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 309-312.

[34] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Gibert (2004) 43f., Jouan and van Looy (1998) 39-42.

[35] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 137-139, Karamanou (2003) 25-37.

[36] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 213-220, Collard, Cropp and Gibert (2004) 260-262.

[37] Cf. Clark (2003) 79-116, Pearson (1917) II 270-274.

[38] Cf. van Looy (1964) 185-200, 244-253, Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 240-245.

[39] Cf. Huys (1995) 377-394 for more exposed hero-tales and *passim* for the treatment of this motif by Euripides.

[40] Cf. Holley (1949) 39-46.

[41] Cf. Glotz (1904) 16-26, 55-58 and Delcourt (1944) 9-14, 22, 36-46 arguing for primitive ordeals, such as legitimacy-tests, as the substratum of the exposed hero-tales. Cf. also Huys

Euripides' treatments of the clash of the hero's mother with her paternal *oikos,* owing to the disclosure of her illicit motherhood, cf. Plot-Structure).

1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy

The earlier phase of Danae's adventures inspired several dramatic treatments (for Aeschylus' tetralogy dealing with the events from their rescue by Dictys onwards, cf. *Dictys*, 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy). Danae's persecution by her father was treated by Sophocles in his *Acrisius* and *Danae*, which tend sometimes to be regarded as two titles for the same play.[42] Nevertheless, typical cases of plays with double titles are those, in which one title of the play bears the name of the hero and the other the name of the chorus.[43] Moreover, not even one citation provides the titles *Acrisius* and *Danae* together. Furthermore, the possibility that the second title occurred due to careless citation is quite unlikely, since, as Pearson admitted, the error would have been unusually persistent [44] (sixteen fragments are ascribed to the *Acrisius* and six to the *Danae*, of which *Danae* fr. 165 R. is cited by the ancient scholiast). It may thus be safer not to regard them as alternative titles for the same play.

The most informative fragments of the *Acrisius* are expressive of the king's fear for the fulfillment of the oracle (fr. 61 R.: βοᾷ τις, ὦ· ἀκούετ'; ἢ μάτην ὑλῶ;/ ἅπαντα γάρ τοι τῷ φοβουμένῳ ψοφεῖ, 66 R.: τοῦ ζῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὡς ὁ γηράσκων ἐρᾷ, 67 R.: τὸ ζῆν γάρ, ὦ παῖ, παντὸς ἥδιον γέρας·/ θανεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῖς αὐτοῖσι δίς). The above cited fr. 67 R., as well as fr. 64 R. (ῥῆσις βραχεῖα τοῖς φρονοῦσι σώφρονα/ πρὸς τοὺς τεκόντας καὶ φυτεύσαντας πρέπει,/ ἄλλως τε καὶ κόρῃ τε κἀργείᾳ γένος,/ αἷς κόσμος ἡ σιγή τε καὶ τὰ παῦρ' ἔπη) point to a scene of confrontation between Danae and her father.[45] It is worth noting that the surviving fragments of the play do not contain any reference to Perseus as born. The sole hint at his conception, either actual

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(1995) 19-22, 38f. For the seduction of princesses by gods in myth, cf. Lefkowitz (1993) 17-37.

[42] For an exposition of these views, cf. Lloyd-Jones (1996) 29.

[43] For those Sophoclean plays attested with double titles, cf. Radt (1982) 188-190, expressing serious reservation for any other case.

[44] Cf. Pearson (1917) I 38 and Sutton (1984) 3.

[45] Cf. De Dios (1983) 50 and n. 84.

or as part of the oracle, might be lurking in the word *ἀρώματα* (fr. 75 R.), considering that *ἀρόω* and its derivatives are regularly used by Sophocles to denote 'begetting children' (cf. *OT* 1257, 1485, 1497, *Ant.* 569, *Tr.* 32); still, it is isolated from its context, which calls for much reservation.

The terms for wall-construction (fr. 68 R.: ἀκτίτης λίθος [46]) and wall-decoration (fr. 69 R.: μαριεὺς ἀλοιμός) have been taken to refer to Danae's imprisonment in the chamber.[47] I believe that such a possibility is strengthened by the fact that the epithet *μαριεύς* derives from Marion, a town of Cyprus famous for its copper that was widely exported to Greece.[48] Moreover, the similarity of *ἀλοιμός* to *πετάλωσις* in terms of technique (i.e. wall-covering with gold-leaf) according to lexicographers,[49] points to a method of metallic wall-plating, which associated with the epithet *μαριεύς* may well imply, I suggest, that the walls were covered with plates of bronze.[50] This piece of information seems to be congruent with the image of Danae's bronze chamber, as attested in the relevant sources. Accordingly, the specific references to the possible construction of the chamber could imply that Danae's seclusion in there was part of the play, which would favour Sutton's suggestion that the *Acrisius* could have treated the earlier phase of the myth.[51] Sophocles' interest in the earlier part of Danae's legend also emerges from *Ant.* 944-954 (ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς/ ἁλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς·/ κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβή-/ ρει θαλάμῳ κατεζεύχθη·/ καίτοι <καὶ> γενεᾷ τίμιος, ὦ παῖ παῖ,/ καὶ Ζηνὸς ταμιεύεσκε γονὰς χρυσορύτους./ ἀλλ' ἁ μοιριδία τις δύνασις δεινά·/ οὔτ' ἄν νιν ὄλβος οὔτ' Ἄρης,/ οὐ πύργος, οὐχ ἁλίκτυπου/ κελαιναὶ νᾶες ἐκφύγοιεν[52]). Fr. 65 R. (θάρσει, γύναι· τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δεινῶν, ὄναρ/ πνεύσαντα νυκτός, ἡμέρας μαλάσσεται) may have been addressed to Danae's mother as consolation.[53]

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[46] This was a type of limestone originating either in the Acte of Peloponnese or in the Attic Acte. Cf. also *Syll.*[2] 537. 17.

[47] Cf. Jucker (1970) 48 and n. 12.

[48] Cf. *IG* II[2] 1675. 18 and note *ad loc.* Cf. also Senff (1999) 900f.

[49] *E.M.* s.v. 'ἀλοιμός' (69, 42-44 Gaisford): Ἀλοιμός · τὰς χρίσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαλείψεις ἀλοιμοὺς ἔλεγον. Σοφοκλῆς 'Μαριεὺς ἀλοιμός', ἡ ἐπάνω <τῆς> τοῦ θαλάμου γανώσεως ἐνιεῖσα ἐπάλειψις, καθαπερανεὶ πετάλωσις οὖσα ἐν αὐτῷ. Cf. Pearson (1917) *ad loc.*, pointing out that such ornamentation was associated with the art of the Heroic Age.

[50] Cf. the bronze walls in Alcinous' palace in *Od.* 7. 86.

[51] Sutton (1984) 4.

[52] For this passage, cf. Jebb (1900[3]$_a$) 169f. and Griffith (1999) 283f., 288f.

[53] Cf. Pearson (1917) *ad loc.*, Sutton (1984) 4.

The *Danae*, on the other hand, contains an explicit reference to Perseus in fr. 165 R. (οὐκ οἶδα τὴν σὴν πεῖραν· ἓν δ' ἐπίσταμαι·/ τοῦ παιδὸς ὄντος τοῦδ' ἐγὼ διόλλυμαι), which was evidently spoken by Acrisius rejecting Danae's possible allegation that she was victim of forcible usage.[54] It is thus reasonable to infer that Acrisius' determination to cheat the oracle at all costs, as expressed in these lines, must have driven him to seclude mother and son in the chest and cast them adrift, as known from mythography. Hence, Sophocles is likely to have treated Danae's ordeal in two plays, of which the *Acrisius* might have covered the earlier phase of her imprisonment in the chamber and the *Danae* the disclosure of her motherhood and her exposure at sea together with her baby son. As observed above, Acrisius' fear and attempts to evade the fulfillment of the oracle seem to have been prominent in Sophocles' treatments of the myth; tragic conflict arising from the vain struggle against processes inaccessible to human reason is a typically Sophoclean notion[55] (for the oracle in Euripides, cf. note on fr. 16). At the same time, however, Acrisius' preoccupation to escape from his destiny leads him to a series of acts of cruelty against his own daughter. As in most extant plays of Sophocles, where the question of human responsibility is raised along with the role of fate and divine will,[56] the final fulfillment of the oracle given to Acrisius, albeit inevitable, may have well been the deserved punishment for his actions; his fate does not seem to be independent of his character.[57]

The theme of the exposure of Danae and Perseus became popular in Greek art from the beginning of the fifth century until its third quarter, which could imply that early mythography and the literary treatments of the legend, especially tragedy and perhaps also Simonides, provided the material and incentive for these artistic creations, bringing this phase of the myth into prominence (cf. *LIMC* s.v.'Akrisios' figg. 1-8).[58] Nevertheless,

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[54] Cf. Pearson (1917) *ad loc.*

[55] Cf. Bowra (1944) 148-211, Bushnell (1988) 4-7, 67-85. For Sophocles' pessimism, cf. Opstelten (1952) 49ff., 118ff.

[56] Cf. Winnington-Ingram (1980) ch. 7, Segal (1995) 91-94, Kirkwood (1958) 72-82.

[57] In this light, the assumption of a connected trilogy comprising the *Acrisius, Danae* and *Larissaei* has long been made (cf. Zielinski 1925, 289, Webster 1969^2, 204, Lucas 1993, 42ff.), but there is no sufficient evidence to support it. Though Sophocles is known to have produced a 'Telepheia' (*TrGF* I, DID B 5), he also instigated the development of the independent single play, according to the Suda (σ 815 Adler).

[58] For figg. 1-3 in *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' and the possibility of their inspiration by a lost early fifth-century *Danae* play, cf. *Dictys*, 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy, n. 267. An Attic white lekythos of ca. 460-50 BC (*LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' fig. 10) depicting Acrisius sitting on a tomb bearing the inscription *ΠΕΡΣΕΩΣ* and possibly also the name *ΔΑΝΑΕ]Σ* was

the unknown date of the *Danae* plays by Sophocles and Euripides (the latter seems to have been produced some time between 455-425 BC, cf. Date) makes it extremely difficult to relate any of these iconographic pieces to either play.

1c. The Legend in Attic Comedy

Danae's seduction by Zeus provided rich material for comedy. The fifth-century poet Sannyrion wrote a *Danae*, a fragment of which presents someone as trying to change form, in order to sneak into somewhere (fr. 8 K.-A.: τί οὖν γενόμενος εἰς ὁπὴν ἐνδύσομαι;/ ζητητέον· φέρ' εἰ γενοίμην <—> γαλῆ· / ἀλλ' Ἡγέλοχος <εὐθὺς> με μηνύσειεν ἄν/ ὁ τραγικὸς ἀνακράγοι τ' ἂν εἰς ἐχθροὺς μέγα/ 'ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλῆν ὁρῶ'); a reasonable assumption is that this character could be Zeus, trying to transform himself, in order to reach and seduce Danae.[59] Fr. 10 K.-A. of the same play praises the maiden's beauty (ἀνταυγὲς κάλλος). Another *Danae*, of which only the title is known, was written by Apollophanes.

The surviving lines from Eubulus' play of the same title (fr. 22 K.-A.) run as follows:

†ἐκεῖνος δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα
†καὶ ἀτεράμων, ὅς με κλάουσαν τότε
οὐκ ἠλέησε.

1-2 ἐκεῖνος δ' ἦν ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα/ καὶ ἀτεράμων codd.: ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρα/ ἦν κἀτεράμων <x-υ-x-υ-/ κἀνηλέητος> Leo: ἐκεῖνος ἰσχυρὸς σφόδρ' ἀτεράμων <τ' ἄν> ἦν (θ' ἅμ' ἦν Austin) <κἀνηλέητος> Edmonds

assumed to have been inspired by Sophocles' *Acrisius*; Jucker (1970, 47ff.) argued that it could allude to Danae's imprisonment in the chamber, whereas Maffre (1981, I 452) suggested that Acrisius might have raised a cenotaph after having Danae and Perseus cast adrift, believing that they are dead. The latter interpretation, however, seems to point rather to S. *Danae*, of which fr. 165 R. hints at Acrisius' intention to have them exposed. Though the vase-painting reflects what seems to have been a key notion in Sophocles' treatments (i.e. Acrisius' anxiety to cheat the oracle at all costs), the unknown date of his plays frustrates any attempt of plausibly relating this piece of iconography to either of them.

[59] Cf. *PCG* VII, *ad loc.*

The speaker is evidently Danae and the passage may well be part of a paratragic lament in lyric iambics.[60] The incident to which she is referring has been widely supposed to be her rape by Zeus.[61] This interpretation seems tempting if we consider that rape was an attractive and common topic in later Greek comedy [62] and the idea of Zeus as rapist would have given scope for mythological burlesque. In even more specific terms, these lines could be paralleled to the description of Pamphile's reaction to her rape in Menander's *Epitrepontes* (487f.: εἶτ' ἐξαπίνης κλάουσα προστρέχει μόνη,/ τίλλουσ' ἑαυτῆς τὰς τρίχας) and to Habrotonon's account of her supposed rape in the same play (526f.: ὡς ἀναιδὴς ἦσθα καὶ/ ἰταμός τις, 528f.: κατέβαλες δέ μ' ὡς σφόδρα·/ ἱμάτια δ' οἴ' ἀπώλεσ' ἢ τάλαιν' ἐγώ). Danae's lament is thus consistent with the expected reaction of a seduced maiden, as treated by comic poets. Added to this, it is worth recalling that it is Zeus whom Danae holds responsible for her calamities in *Dictyulci* fr. 47a. 783f. R. (cf. *Dictys,* 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy), which is an idea also lurking in Simonides.

The title *Chrysochoos* of Diphilus' play ('one who pours in as gold', which may well connote Zeus' transformation), in conjunction with fr. 85 K.-A. presenting someone as peeping at a pretty girl from the smoke-hole (for lovers sneaking into women's chambers from the smoke-hole, cf. Xenarchus' *Pentathlos* fr. 4.11 K.-A.), could suggest that the play was a burlesque of Danae's seduction by Zeus.[63] Comic illustrations of Zeus as secret lover, as that depicted on a phlyax-vase in the Vatican, also point in this direction.[64]

The theme of Danae's seduction by Zeus transformed into golden shower was a source of artistic inspiration, as emerges from fifth and fourth-century iconography (*LIMC* s.v. 'Danae' figg. 1-12, 24-31).[65] In literature from the end of the fourth century onwards (starting with Menander's *Samia*, cf. T6 and note *ad loc.*), this subject became proverbial

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[60] Cf. Hunter (1983) 114.

[61] Cf. Leo (1960) 411 and *PCG* V, *ad loc.*

[62] Cf. for instance, the *Aeolus* of Antiphanes (cf. Nesselrath, 1990, 205-209) and the *Auge* and *Ion* of Eubulus, which seem to have treated the subject of rape. Heracles is presented as abducting Auge in a comic vase-illustration perhaps inspired by the *Auge* of Eubulus (Trendall and Webster, 1971, pl. IV 24). Cf. also Omitowoju (2002) ch. 5, Pierce (1997) 163-170, Webster (1953) 75-77, Lever (1956) 181f.

[63] Cf. Edmonds (1957-1961) IIIa 141, MacCary (1973) 203, Hunter (1983) 114.

[64] Cf. Bieber (1920) fig. 76.

[65] Cf. also Roman paintings dating from the first to the fourth century AD (cf. *LIMC* s.v.'Danae' figg. 13-23a).

for the power of money over virtue (for its wide occurrence in later works, cf. opening note on fr. 7).[66] On the basis of the available evidence for the legend, I suggest below that this idea seems to originate in *Danae* fr. 7 (cf. introductory note *ad loc.*), which was notorious and widely cited by later authors and could have thus inspired the interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery after Euripides.

1d. The Legend in Latin Literature

Danae's conflict with her father recurs in a Latin *Danae* tragedy by Naevius (frr. 2-12 Traglia). The available evidence for the play does not hint at Acrisius' fear for the fulfillment of the oracle, which is a persistent notion in Sophocles. By contrast, in the surviving fragments of Naevius' play, Acrisius' indignation appears to arise from the social dimension of his daughter's seduction (fr. 5 T.: *Eam nunc esse inventam probris compotem scis* and fr. 7 T.: *Desubito famam tollunt, si quam solam videre in via*). This idea occurs in Euripides' *Danae* fr. 6 (for further parallels on the social issue of a maiden's seclusion, seduction and clash with her paternal *oikos* in Euripides, cf. note on fr. 6.2 and Plot-Structure). The king is determined to impose a hard penalty on his daughter for her disgrace (fr. 8 T.: *Quin, ut quisque est meritus, praesens pretium pro factis ferat*),[67] which recalls *Mel. S.* fr. 485 Kn. (εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδία καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις;) and fr. 497 Kn. (τείσασθε τήνδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν νοσεῖ/ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· οἳ μὲν ἢ παίδων πέρι/ ἢ συγγενείας εἵνεκ' οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν/ κακὴν λαβόντες· εἶτα τοῦτο τἄδικον/ πολλαῖς ὑπερρύηκε καὶ χωρεῖ πρόσω,/ ὥστ' ἐξίτηλος ἀρετὴ καθίσταται). Fr. 9 T. must come from Danae's outburst facing her unfair condemnation to exile (*indigne exigor patria innocens*). An obscure fragment is ascribed to an earlier *Danae* by Livius Andronicus, coming from a quarrel between two characters, whose identity cannot be

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[66] Horace (*Carm.* 3. 16.1 and schol. Porph. *ad loc.*) and Lucian (*Gall.* 13) give a rationalistic interpretation of the myth by explaining the shower of gold as bribery of Danae's guards; cf. Williams (1969) 100. References to Danae's seduction by Zeus often appear in the works of Christian authors to underline the immorality of Greek gods; cf. Athenag. *Contr. Gent.* 12, Orig. *Contr. Cels.* 1. 37, Theodor. *Graec. Affect. Cur.* 3. 81, 98, [Just.] *Or. ad Gr.* 2. 5, Clem. Rom. *Hom.* 5. 13. 4, Ambr. *Hypomn.* 2. 14.

[67] Cf. Marmorale (1950^2) 188, Traglia (1986) 197, n. 11.

established (fr. 14 T.: *<Haec> etiam minitas <mi>? Mitte ea quae mea sunt magis quam tua*).[68]

A Latin sequel of Danae's adventures is attested in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 371f., 409ff., followed by later authors and scholiasts.[69] According to this story, the chest in which Danae and Perseus were imprisoned reached the coast of Latium, where Danae married the local king Pilumnus and helped found Ardea; Turnus, the leader of the Rutuli who resided in Ardea, is in the *Aeneid* Danae's descendant. Owing to the silence of sources, it cannot be proved whether this adaptation of Danae's legend in Latin foundation-myths is a Virgilian fabrication or goes back to lost sources prior to the poet;[70] Turnus' descent from Danae, at least, is not mentioned in earlier and almost contemporary sources (Cato frr. 9, 11 Peter, Livy 1. 2.1-5, D.H. 1. 64.2). Apart from the traditionalising trends of the Augustan era, which favoured the borrowing of venerable legends from Greek Antiquity,[71] Virgil must have shaped this myth so as to serve his literary goals. Firstly, by attributing the foundation of Ardea to a noble mythical figure, such as Danae, and by connecting this town to Heroic Age Argos, the poet presumably aimed to lend dignity to the roots of Latin people and grandeur to Ardea, once a powerful town in Latium, but desolated by the time of Virgil.[72] Moreover, the Argive ancestry of Turnus in contrast with Aeneas' Trojan identity prepares the ground for a new conflict between old

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[68] Ribbeck (1875, 32) followed by Carratello (1979, 63) suggested that the two characters may be Acrisius and Proetus, while Traglia (1986, 166) assumed that it could be a quarrel between Dictys and Silenus inspired by the *Dictyulci* of Aeschylus. The evidence, however, is scanty and inconclusive.

[69] Cf. Plin. *H.N.* 3. 5. 56 and S. Ital. 1. 659f. Cf. also Solin. 2.5 probably relying on Pliny, Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 7. 372 (Thilo-Hagen) and Lactantius on Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220f. (Sweeney); these scholia seem to have been the main sources of the later accounts of the Vatican Mythographers (Myth. Vat. 1. 154, 2. 133).

[70] Geffcken (1892, 41) and Montenegro Duque (1949, 85) supposed that this version might go back to Timaeus. Morelli (1974, 87, n. 13), following Marmorale (1950^2, 146) and Paratore (1957, 68), assumed that the foundation of Ardea by Danae might have been foretold at the epilogue of Naevius' play, especially since he seems to have favoured Roman-oriented plays and was the one to introduce the writing of *praetextae* (cf. his *Clastidium* and *Romulus* and Fraenkel 1935, 627, Goldberg 2005, 23, Schiesaro 2005, 273f.). Cf. similarly Bernstein (1998) 243. In the light of this interpretation, Lefèvre (2000, 177-183) argued for Naevius' possibly political motivation prompted by contemporary events (i.e. the Roman struggle to keep Saguntum in 220 BC) and thus the need to illustrate the origin of the Rutuli-Saguntini from Danae. Sadly, no piece of evidence from the play can substantiate this assumption.

[71] Cf. Tilly (1947) 44.

[72] Cf. Paratore (1962) 97, Della Corte (1972) 212f., 233, Garuti (1984) 978.

enemies.[73] Considering that there is no archaeological evidence in favour of the version of the Argive foundation of Ardea, the connection of the two cities might have been the outcome of popular fallacious traditions, which could have existed before Virgil. A reasonable explanation is that the Illyrian race of Dauni mentioned by Lycophron (1253ff.) as inhabitants of Latium could have been falsely associated with Argos on the basis of popular etymology (Dauni <Danai),[74] which led to the belief that they were descendants of Argives. This idea may have thus found its mythical explanation in the adaptation of Danae's famous legend in Latin foundation-myths.

2. The Date of the Play

There is no external evidence as to the date of the *Danae*. As regards internal criteria, the sole means of attaining a very approximate result is metre, on the basis of a total of 72 complete trimeters, which is a reasonable sample for metrical analysis. There are only two resolutions of the third *longum* (frr. 8.4, 12.4)— a resolution-type common in Euripides' early production and thus not chronologically distinctive [75]— out of 360 resolvable syllables, providing a very low resolution-rate of 0.56 %. Cropp and Fick suggested an early date of production (from 455 to 425 BC),[76] estimating a slightly higher rate of 0.83%, as they also included the resolution resulting from Nauck's conjecture in fr. 3. 2, which seems unnecessary (the manuscript reading can be retained, cf. note *ad loc.*).

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[73] Cf. Mackie (1991) 262ff. and Horsfall (2000) 257.

[74] Cf. Della Corte (1972) 232. In this light, the figure of Daunus (<Danaus), father of Turnus and king of Ardea in the *Aeneid*, would have presumably served to strengthen the bonds between Ardea and Argos. Cf. Paratore (1962) 93f.

[75] Cf. Cropp and Fick (1985) 29f., Devine and Stephens (1980) 66, Ceadel (1941) 72f.

[76] Cropp and Fick (1985) 70, 78. Webster (1967, 4) placed the *Danae* in the 'Severe Style' category, suggesting a date from 455 to 428 BC.

3. *Dramatis Personae* and Setting

As I argue below, the '*index personarum*' of T5 (cf. note *ad loc.*) should be approached with extreme caution. We can only be confident for those characters of the index, whose role can be established by the fragments of the play and the relevant sources:

(1) Danae: for her role, cf. T4, T6. Fr. 13 can be assigned to her with certainty and she seems to be the likeliest speaker of frr. 11-12. If Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition, according to which Danae was kept in a bronze chamber by her father, where she gave birth to Perseus, she may have then remained secluded in the chamber, at least at the beginning of the play. In this case, she would have been confined indoors (that is, behind the *skēnē*-door, which is the interface between public and private, the latter often representing the secluded space of women [77]) and would thus be unlikely to have appeared on stage to deliver the prologue-speech. As the fragments and the overall evidence for the plot suggest, Danae could have participated in a formal debate perhaps with Acrisius (frr. 8-12) after the latter's discovery of her seduction (cf. introductory notes on frr. 7, 8), though Euripides is likely to have found a dramatic 'excuse' to present her on stage earlier than that. Hence, if Danae did not appear at the beginning of the play, the possible stratagem to protect baby Perseus from his grandfather (cf. Plot-Structure, pp. 22f., 26) may have been implemented with the help of another female character (cf. opening note on fr. 1), perhaps her nurse, whose role can only be inferred (cf. below).

Danae, after whom the play is named, must have been at the centre of dramatic interest, especially at the climactic point of her possible self-sacrifice for her son (cf. introductory note on fr. 13: her plea to Acrisius to be enclosed in the chest together with Perseus illustrates her emotional force and attachment to her baby son; for the vocabulary of self-sacrifice, cf. note on fr. 14). Her above mentioned possible participation in the *agōn*, where she could have defended herself against Acrisius' likely accusation that she was bribed with gold to be seduced (frr. 8-12, cf. note on fr. 8), would serve to demonstrate her *dianoia* (cf. similarly Melanippe's articulate defence in *Mel. S.* frr. 483-485 Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*).

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[77] Cf. Zeitlin (1989) 75-77, Lowe (1988) 37, Seaford (1990$_b$) 89f., Murnaghan (2005) 237.

(2) Acrisius: for this character, cf. T4. He is the strongest candidate for frr. 2-4, 6-10.[78] His figure appears to have been modeled upon the cruel father-type of Euripides' plays about royal daughters giving birth to illegitimate (often divine) offspring: Cercyon in the *Alope,* Aeolus and Hellen in the *Melanippe the Wise*, Aleos in the *Auge*, Aeolus in the play of the same title (cf. Plot-Structure, pp. 26-29).

(3) Female chorus (cf. T1) perhaps consisting of Argive maidens of Danae's age and thus sympathetic to her situation;[79] the comment of fr. 14 and possibly fr. 5 could have been uttered by the chorus-leader.

(4) Danae's nurse is mentioned in the doubtful index of T5 (cf. note *ad loc.*). She had a part in early versions of Danae's legend, as attested by Pherecydes and pictorial evidence (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 4). The nurse is the usual 'accomplice' in Euripides' plays involving female intrigue, as the *Hippolytus* and *Stheneboea* (fr. 661. 10-14 Kn.) and tragedies sharing the tale-pattern of the *Danae*, such as the *Melanippe the Wise, Cretans, Aeolus, Alope* and *Auge* [80] (cf. Plot-Structure, pp. 26-29). Fr. 1 hints at a female stratagem probably planned by Danae helped by another woman, who may well be her nurse.

(5) Acrisius' wife and Danae's mother, whose name is attested as Eurydice in the mythical tradition (cf. Hes. fr. 129 M.-W., Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 2.1 and she is also illustrated in a vase-painting of ca. 440-430 BC, cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Akrisios' fig. 7). She appears to have had a role in Sophocles' *Acrisius* (cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy, p. 11). She could have been the king's female interlocutor in fr. 2 (cf. opening note *ad loc.*) [81] and perhaps also in frr. 3 and 4 and a possible speaker of fr. 5,[82] all of which may belong to the same context.

(6) a messenger is needed to report the off-stage exposure of the chest containing Danae and Perseus.[83] Fr. 15 illustrating the fragility of human fortune may have been the concluding evaluation of his account (cf. opening note *ad loc.*).

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[78] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Aélion (1986) 154.

[79] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 54.

[80] Cf. *Alope* (fr. 108 Kn. and Hyg. *fab.* 187), *Cretans* (frr. 472b, 472e. 47 Kn.), *Aeolus* (hyp. *P.Oxy.* 2457. 34), *Melanippe the Wise* (cf. hyp. *P. Oxy.* 2455. 13f. in *TrGF* V,1 525f. and Apulian vase-painting in *TrGF* V,1 528) and *Auge* (frr. 271, 271a-b Kn.).

[81] Cf. *TrGF* V,1, 371.

[82] Cf. Webster (1967) 95.

[83] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59. For the necessity of a messenger-speech reporting events which are not feasible on stage, cf. Bremer (1976) 35ff., De Jong (1991) 117-131, 172ff., Rehm (1992) 61f.

(7) the rescue of mother and child is likely to have been foretold by a *deus ex machina*. The index in T5 mentions Athena; even if we doubt the authority of the index, Athena or Hermes would be feasible candidates for this role, in view of their involvement in Perseus' adventures (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.2). If Lucian's *D. Mar.* 12 (and, in turn, T5) goes back to Euripides, then a Nereid, perhaps Thetis [84] (who is narrating Danae's story in Lucian), might have appeared to announce their rescue.

(8) Hermes as prologue-speaker is quite uncertain, as pointed out in the note on T5. Nevertheless, in an Attic red-figure hydria in Boston dated in about 430 BC, Danae is depicted at the right after having received the shower of gold in her chamber, the nurse appears in the middle surprised and rushing towards Danae and Hermes is illustrated at the left extending his left arm as if delivering a message (*LIMC* III,1 s.v. 'Danae' fig. 6, illustrated in Wilk 2000, 51). The date of the vase-painting fits in the estimated time-range of the production of the *Danae* (between 455 and 425 BC, cf. Date); taken in combination with Hermes as speaker of the spurious prologue ([E.] fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix, Dramatic Technique) and his occurrence as such in the corresponding *'index personarum'* (for its questionable reliability, cf. note on T5), it may raise the question of a possible relation of the painting to the *Danae* and, in turn, of Hermes as prologue-speaker in the play.

Nonetheless, before jumping into such a conclusion, it should be pointed out, firstly, that the choice of Hermes as speaker of the spurious prologue aiming to imitate a Euripidean opening on the Danae-myth may have well relied on the author's good knowledge of the myth (cf. Hermes' involvement in Perseus' legend in *Dictys*, 1a. The Mythical Background), even if he did not have access to the *Danae,* and can be further explained by a number of reasons in combination (cf. Appendix, The Sources). Hence, the evidence of the spurious piece is not sound enough to support the possibility of the inspiration of the vase-painting by the play. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that vase-paintings supposed to have been inspired by tragedy should be approached with great care, since such representations are often not clearly distinct from depictions based on myth. In the case of Attic pottery, in particular, this calls for special attention, as tragic performances are only rarely represented in Athenian vase-painting.[85] It is also noteworthy that the popular topic of Danae receiving the golden shower (cf. 1c. The Legend in Comedy) is widely

[84] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59.
[85] Cf. Taplin (1997) 69-72, 90, Green (1991) 38-44.

represented in art from early fifth century till late antiquity (cf. 1c. The Legend in Attic Comedy, p. 14). It is thus conceivable that Hermes as Zeus' messenger to Danae could originate in myth and be echoed in Lucian's *D. Deor.* 4.2. Another factor worth considering is that Hermes appears only in this vase; had he been depicted repeatedly in paintings dated in the same period,[86] this could tell in favour of a more specific source of inspiration (e.g. a dramatic production).

The testimony of the vase-painting in its own strength cannot thus establish its inspiration by the *Danae* and Hermes' role in the play. It would be unwise, however, to wholly exclude this possibility either and its implications have to remain open to discussion. Even if the artist was inspired by the play, the depicted scene cannot have occurred on stage, firstly, since on the basis of our evidence, Perseus' conception would have belonged to the *προπεπραγμένα* and secondly, because the scene takes place in Danae's chamber (and thus indoors). The message which Hermes is conveying to Danae in the painting may be that the golden shower, which she has just received, is Zeus in disguise; it should be noted that the majority of mythical sources (except for Pherecydes, cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 4) present Zeus as seducing Danae whilst transformed, therefore, Danae cannot know the identity of her seducer, unless informed of it in a certain manner. If Euripides chose to follow this version of the legend, he is likely to have invented a way of revealing Zeus' transformation to her and Hermes is a feasible messenger (cf. Luc. *D. Deor.* 4.2). Even so, this possibility would not justify Hermes' appearance to deliver the prologue-speech, since on the basis of our knowledge of Euripidean dramatic technique gods as prologue-speakers are strictly detached from mortal dramatic characters; Hermes' appearance on stage to deliver a message to Danae would thus be unparalleled (for this matter, cf. Appendix, Dramatic Technique). An attractive, albeit unprovable alternative could be that Hermes' message to Danae was a narrated element in the prologue-speech delivered by either the nurse or Danae herself, who would be in a position to report the *προπεπραγμένα* (cf. Plot-Structure); an eloquent parallel would be *Hel.* 56-58 (where Helen recalls Hermes' revealing words to her). Such a possibility would give one more reason for the choice of Hermes as speaker of the spurious prologue (cf. Appendix, The Sources), if the author of the 'prologue' had access to the *Danae* and attempted a reworking of the opening scene (presumably by

[86] As in the case of the vase-paintings inspired by S. *Andromeda*; cf. Green (1991) 42f. establishing certain safe criteria for the attribution of fifth-century vase-paintings to dramatic productions.

changing the prologue-speaker), which is a common practice in rhetorical exercises.[87] It may also account for Lucian's reference to Hermes as sent to comfort Danae in *D. Deor.* 4.2. In such a case, the vase-painting would have depicted the *προπεπραγμένα* set out in the prologue-speech, just as the Deianeira-crater is inspired by the events narrated in the opening speech of S. *Trachiniae*.[88]

The setting of the play was evidently Acrisius' palace in Argos,[89] as suggested by the mythical sources (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) and alluded to in fr. 2. 7 (ἐν δόμοις).

4. Plot-Structure

The majority of the quotations from the *Danae* are of a gnomic character, which does not assist in the process of locating the fragments within the play. In addition, the absence of a reliable hypothesis (cf. note on T5) leaves aspects and possible complications of the plot unclear. On the basis of the fragments, the testimonia and the relevant mythographic accounts (Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1), we are in a position to distinguish the following scenes:

(1) a narrative prologue could have been delivered by the nurse [90] (cf. *Medea* and probably *Aeolus* [91]) or Danae (as by Melanippe in *Mel. S.* fr. 481 Kn., provided that Danae was not secluded in the chamber early in the play; cf. *Dramatis Personae*) setting out the *προπεπραγμένα*: presumably the oracle received by Acrisius leading to Danae's seclusion (as fr. 16 seems to suggest), her seduction by Zeus transformed into golden shower and Perseus' secret birth. Fr. 1 points to female plotting possibly aiming to protect Perseus from his grandfather (cf. also p. 26). Unless coming from a deliberation-scene between Danae and a female confidant, presumably her nurse (cf. *Andr.* 56-90, *Auge* fr. 271a-b Kn.), this statement about female *dolos* may be located at the end of the prologue-speech,

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[87] Cf. especially Cribiore (2001$_b$) 256-258.
[88] Cf. Trendall and Webster (1971) III 2.11, illustrated in Cavalier and Bernabo-Brea (1977^2) fig. 119.
[89] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 53, *TrGF* V,1 371.
[90] So Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.
[91] For the nurse as prologue-speaker in the *Aeolus*, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 24.

following the reference to the stratagem for Perseus' safety (cf. opening note on fr. 1). For the question of Hermes' suitability as prologue-speaker, cf. *Dramatis Personae* and note on T5.

(2) a scene where a character, possibly Acrisius, is expressing his enthusiasm at the sight of a new-born child (fr. 2. 7) and is presented as an old man praising fatherhood, which he regards as his own situation (fr. 3), whilst pointing out the superiority of male to female offspring (fr. 4). The addressee could be his wife (cf. fr. 2. 1: *γύναι*). The specific reference to the new-born (fr. 2.7) may well point to infant Perseus and Acrisius' joy can be explained only if we assume that he is ignorant of the baby's identity, that is, if it was introduced to him as coming from a mother other than Danae. Taking into account also fr. 2. 6 corresponding to the mythographically attested yearning of Acrisius for a son (cf. esp. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) and fr. 3 suggesting that he has become father (presumably of a male child, as implied in fr. 4) at an old age, it is conceivable that part of the intrigue of fr. 1 might have been to introduce the baby to Acrisius under false pretences and perhaps as the solution to his lack of male descendant (cf. introductory note on fr. 2). Van Looy made this suggestion, drawing a parallel to the analogous situation in Menander's *Samia*, which, in this case, might have originated in Euripides' *Danae* (cf. note on T6).[92] Fr. 5 is expressive of female inferiority, is congruent with the idea of fr. 4 and may have thus belonged to the same context (possibly spoken by Acrisius' wife or the female chorus-leader).

(3) Acrisius' discovery of Danae's seduction (fr. 6). On finding gold in her chamber, he appears to have assumed that his daughter was seduced by a rich man (cf. opening note on fr. 7).[93] Frr. 8 –10a asserting the power of wealth and frr. 11 and 12 refuting this idea could be assigned to Acrisius and Danae respectively in the context of an *agōn* [94] (to which fr. 7 may also belong), possibly a 'trial-debate' with Acrisius as plaintiff and Danae as defendant (cf. introductory note on fr. 8). According to the mythographical sources, their confrontation would have resulted in Acrisius' condemnation of Danae's illicit motherhood (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background) and his possible decision to eliminate Perseus, which could have raised Danae's plea in fr. 13 (cf. next scene).

(4) Danae pleads with and persuades Acrisius (as emerges from the final exposure of Danae and Perseus, cf. T4) not to be separated from

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[92] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59f. and much earlier, Hartung's reconstruction (1843-1844, I 88), which is, however, highly conjectural.
[93] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Aélion (1986) 154, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.
[94] Cf. Duchemin (1968^2) 91 and Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.

her child (fr. 13), thereby choosing to be exposed in the sea together with Perseus, presumably over death for her son and a lesser penalty for herself (for more detail, cf. opening note on fr. 13);[95] the use of the vocabulary of self-sacrifice in fr. 14, which was possibly uttered by the chorus-leader in praise of her act, also points in this direction (cf. note *ad loc.*).

(5) a messenger-speech reporting presumably to Acrisius (cf. *Hipp.* 1153ff.) the off-stage exposure of the chest in the sea (cf. *Dramatis Personae*).[96] The general reflection in fr. 15 may have been the concluding evaluation of the messenger-speech (cf. introductory note *ad loc.*).

(6) a *deus ex machina* (Athena, Thetis and Hermes are feasible candidates, cf. *Dramatis Personae*) [97] is likely to have addressed Acrisius, confirming that Perseus is son of Zeus (cf. Athena's similar confirmation in *Ion* 1560-1568) and foretelling the rescue of mother and child and perhaps also Perseus' heroic deeds and Acrisius' accidental death at the hands of his grandson.

The motif of the impregnation of a royal daughter often by a god and the subsequent exposure of the offspring recurs in several Euripidean plays.[98] The dramatist handles this subject in two main directions: he either focuses (a) on the clash of the princess with her natal *oikos* and the persecution of mother and offspring by her father upon the discovery of her illicit motherhood (*Danae, Melanippe the Wise, Alope, Auge* and partly the *Aeolus*[99]) or (b) on the crucial recognition between mother and her grown-up offspring, from whom she has long been separated (*Ion, Captive Melanippe, Antiope, Hypsipyle* and partly the *Alexandros* [100]).[101]

On the basis of metrical evidence (cf. Date), the *Danae* seems to have been one of the earliest Euripidean plays of the first group.[102] Euripides' preoccupation with the tale-pattern of rape resulting in infant exposure, which is represented in these plays (in the *Danae*, in particular, the young hero is exposed together with his mother),[103] could have been

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[95] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Huys (1995) 259.
[96] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59.
[97] Cf. *loc. cit.* and Aélion (1986) 154.
[98] Cf. Burian (1997) 186f.
[99] The main deviation of the *Aeolus* from this group of plays lies in the poet's probable focus on the father-son (rather than father-daughter) confrontation.
[100] The *Alexandros* differs from this group in that the child is not illegitimate, but is exposed due to a bad omen.
[101] This distinction was first made by Borecky (1955) 86-89 and more systematically by Huys (1995) 40f. Sophocles' *Tyro* B apparently followed the second type of plot-structure; cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 246.
[102] Cf. Webster (1967) 4f.
[103] For the 'exposed hero' tale-pattern, cf. Huys (1995) *passim.*

motivated by contemporary life up to an extent; female chastity before marriage would ensure the production of legitimate offspring, which would preserve the integrity of the *oikos* and, in turn, that of the *polis*, since any male child of a married Athenian woman would receive the rights of Athenian citizenship (cf. note on fr. 6.2). Thus, social norms seem to have imposed sexual segregation and presumably the exposure of illegitimate offspring,[104] though fifth-century evidence is scanty in terms of the latter.[105] The Euripidean tale-pattern of rape and infant exposure widely recurs in New Comedy transferred from the divine/ heroic to the human sphere (cf. Satyr. *Vit. Eur., P. Oxy.* IX 1176, fr. 39, col. vii).[106]

In all plays of this group, the pattern of intrigue is employed as a means of protecting the child from its grandfather. Stratagems are often set up in tragedy by characters finding themselves at a state of weakness against another figure's power and thus having to resort to their own wits (cf. for instance, the ambush against Lycus in *HF* 707ff., against Clytaemestra in *El.* 651-660, 998ff. and S. *El.* 47ff., 673ff., Iphigenia's plot in *IT* 1153ff.).[107] In addition, the *Danae* seems to have contained the pattern of self-sacrifice,[108] as the princess possibly chose to be exposed together with her baby son, in order to avoid his elimination by Acrisius (cf. introductory notes on frr. 13, 14).

The outline of the plays of this category follows a story-pattern consisting of the mother's intrigue to protect the baby, her father's discovery of her illicit motherhood and the punishment of mother and child. In more specific terms:

(1) The mother's intrigue to hide or protect her baby from its grandfather:
a. *Danae*
Fr. 1 hints at a stratagem organized presumably by Danae; a possible 'accomplice' in such a plot could be her nurse (for an exploration of what this intrigue might have involved, cf. above, p. 23 and opening note on fr. 2).

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[104] Cf. Huys (1989) 190-197, Kudlien (1989) 30-35, Clark (1989) 24.
[105] Cf. Huys (1995) 13-15.
[106] Cf. Omitowoju (2002) 182-186, Pierce (1997) 163-170. Menander's *Epitrepontes* and *Heros* deal with both rape and infant exposure. Girls give birth to illegitimate children in the *Samia, Georgos* and possibly in the *Perinthia*. Infant exposure is also treated in the *Periceiromene*.
[107] For the pattern of intrigue in Euripides, cf. Trenkner (1958) 46f.
[108] Cf. Lattimore (1964) 47-49, Trenkner (1958) 69-71.

b. *Melanippe the Wise*
Following Poseidon's command, Melanippe hid her twins at the cowshed helped by her nurse (hyp. *Mel. S.*, *P. Oxy.* 2455. 13-15).
c. *Alope*
She gave her baby son to her nurse to expose, evidently hoping that he would be rescued by a childless person (Hyg. *fab.* 187 and fr. 108 Kn. hinting at the plot between the two women).
d. *Auge*
She hid infant Telephus at the temple of Athena Alea ([Apollod.] 2. 7.4, 3. 9.1, in conjunction with fr. 264a Kn.) probably helped by her nurse (cf. frr. 271a-b Kn.)
e. *Aeolus*
Canace pretended that she was ill, in order to hide her new-born baby (hyp. *Aeolus, P. Oxy.* 2457. 25f.).[109] Macareus then managed to persuade Aeolus to marry his sons with his daughters, without revealing his personal involvement with Canace (*P. Oxy.* 2457. 27f. and frr. 20, 22, 23 Kn.[110]).

(2) Discovery: the maiden's father finds out about his daughter's illicit motherhood:
a. *Danae*
There is insufficient evidence as to how Danae's seduction came to light. It has been reasonably argued that the fragments in praise of gold and the power of wealth over love (frr. 7-10), presumably located after the disclosure of her motherhood (fr. 6), could point to Acrisius' inference that Danae was seduced by a rich man, upon his discovering the pieces of gold in her chamber (cf. opening note on fr. 7).[111]
b. *Melanippe the Wise*
Melanippe's twins were discovered by a herdsman at the cowshed and condemned by her father to be burnt as monstrous progeny of the cow (hyp. *Mel. S.*, *P. Oxy.* 2455. 20-23). Melanippe vainly interceded for the lives of the twins to her father by arguing against this idea (*P. Oxy.* 2455. 24f., also frr. 484, 485 Kn.).[112] There is no evidence as to how

[109] Cf. Ov. *Her.* 11. 69-76 and Jäkel (1979) 112f.
[110] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 25.
[111] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Aélion (1986) 154, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.
[112] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 241.

the truth about her motherhood came out (from the nurse or Melanippe herself?).[113]

c. *Alope*

Alope's baby son was found by two herdsmen, who argued over the baby's trinkets in front of Alope's father as judge. The latter recognized his daughter's garment, into which the baby was wrapped and by interrogating the nurse, he found out the truth (Hyg. *fab.* 187).

d. *Auge*

Auge's baby seems to have been discovered by Aleos after his inspection of Athena's temple in search of the cause of the plague (cf. [Apollod.] 2. 7.4, 3. 9.1 and fr. 266 Kn. pointing to the plague sent by Athena).

e. *Aeolus*

Macareus failed to draw the lot, on which Canace's name was written (hyp. *Aeolus, P. Oxy.* 2457. 30f.). No evidence survives as to how Aeolus discovered the baby (in Ov. *Her.* 11. 70-76, he heard the baby's cries).

(3) The aftermath of discovery: father-daughter conflict touching upon the social issue of the maiden's illicit motherhood (cf. note on fr. 6):

a. *Danae*

Frr. 7-10 (alleging the power of wealth over love) and fr. 6, for all of which Acrisius is the likeliest candidate, refer to the social implications of Danae's seduction. The latter could have defended herself in an *agōn* (possibly a 'trial-debate') against her father's accusation of having been bribed with gold to be seduced; frr. 11-12 denouncing the power of money presumably formed part of her reply to Acrisius' allegation that Eros is attracted by wealth (frr. 7-10). There is no evidence for any possible implications of the oracle in their confrontation (cf. note on fr. 16).

b. *Melanippe the Wise*

The gravity of Melanippe's misconduct at the eyes of her father is expressed in fr. 485 and possibly also in fr. 497 Kn.

c. *Alope*

Alope's seduction is strongly reproached by her father in frr. 109, 110, 111 Kn. probably in the context of an *agōn* (perhaps a 'trial-debate', cf. the formal proem of Cercyon's *rhesis* in fr. 110 Kn.).[114]

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[113] *loc. cit.*

[114] Cf. Duchemin (1968^2) 83, Karamanou (2003) 31.

d. *Auge*
No evidence survives for Auge's conflict with her father; the apologetic lines of fr. 272b Kn. evidently uttered by Heracles reveal the gravity of his offence.
e. *Aeolus*
Though the main confrontation appears to have occurred between father and son, Aeolus is the likeliest speaker of fr. 36 Kn. strongly censuring female misconduct.[115]

(4) Climax of the 'girl's tragedy':[116] severe punishment of the seduced daughter by her father—often by seclusion as a means of his reasserting paternal control over her [117]— and, as a rule, exposure of her illegitimate offspring:
a. *Danae*
Danae and Perseus are both imprisoned in the chest, which is cast adrift (cf. above, p. 24 and notes on frr. 13-14).
b. *Melanippe the Wise*
There is no sound evidence for Melanippe's sentence nor for the fate of the twins (if fr. 497 Kn. belonged to the *Melanippe the Wise*, it could point to her father's or grandfather's intention to have her severely punished;[118] Hyg. *fab.* 186 cannot be completely trusted). The background of the *Captive Melanippe* at least presupposes her separation from her sons, though it may tell us nothing of Euripides' untying of the plot in the *Melanippe the Wise*. It is unknown whether the purpose of the appearance of Melanippe's mother, Hippo *ex machina* (Pollux 4. 141 Bethe), was to avert their punishment or merely to foretell future events.
c. *Alope*
Hyg. *fab.* 187 reports that Alope was imprisoned and left to die (for a possible allusion to her prison cf. fr. 112a Kn.[119]) and that Hippothoon was exposed again.
d. *Auge*
Webster tried to reconcile the versions of Moses of Chorene (*Prog.* 3.3) and Strabo (13. 1.69) for the reconstruction of the *Auge*: after the

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[115] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 26.
[116] This term is applied by Scafuro (1990). Cf. Prof. Sommerstein's forthcoming survey of the tragic treatments of rape, which he kindly sent me before its publication.
[117] Cf. Seaford (1990_b) 81, 84.
[118] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) *ad loc.*
[119] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 146.

disclosure of Auge's motherhood, baby Telephus may have been exposed by Aleos and then found by Heracles. It is unclear whether the hero managed to rescue mother and child from punishment; if Strabo's testimony about their being imprisoned in the chest and cast adrift is reliable, then Heracles may have interceded to Aleos to commute their punishment from death to exposure in the sea, which would leave them with a hope of rescue.[120]

e. *Aeolus*

Canace seems to have been driven to suicide by her father, to judge from a Lucanian vase-painting inspired by the *Aeolus* (Trendall and Webster 1971, III 3.4, cf. Ov. *Her.* 11.122). No evidence survives as to the fortune of the baby in the play.[121]

The parallel survey of the treatment of these myths by Euripides, so far as our evidence goes, reveals a recurring theme and a fairly common sequence of events: intrigue—discovery regularly followed by confrontation—punishment. It is worth noting that discovery and its implications seem to have been focal points in these plots, bringing the 'girl's tragedy' to the fore.[122] Nevertheless, owing to the fragmentary nature of the plays in question, one cannot confidently argue for a common structural plan, especially in terms of placement of events, such as discovery, as part of the *desis* or *lusis* of the plot.

As regards aspects of dramatic situation, this group of tragedies is affiliated, on a larger scale, to other 'plays about unhappy women', as classified by Webster,[123] such as the *Cretans, Scyrioi* and *Alcmene* (pregnancy kept as a secret— discovery by the father or husband— actual or averted punishment).[124]

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[120] Cf. Webster (1967) 239f., also Huys (1990) 171f. and (1995) 82.

[121] For an exploration of possibilities, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 26 and n. 22.

[122] Cf. Huys (1995) 365-370, Clark (2003) 115.

[123] Webster (1967) 86ff.

[124] For the plot of the *Cretans*, cf. Cozzoli (2001) 10-18, Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 53-58 and Webster (1967) 87-92. For the *Alcmene*, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 121-128 and Webster (1967) 92-94 and for the *Scyrioi*, cf. Jouan and van Looy (2002) 62-69 and Webster (1967) 95-97.

5. Reception of the *Danae*

Euripides' *Danae* seems to have been a popular play. The notorious fr. 7 in praise of gold, the speaker of which was possibly accusing Danae of having been bribed to be seduced, was widely cited by later authors and seems to have inspired the interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery from the end of the fourth century BC onwards (cf. opening note *ad loc.*). The first surviving allusion to this idea occurs in the *Samia* (T6), with reference to a performance of the *Danae*, which points also to a revival of the play in Menander's time. In the context of the allegation about the overwhelming power of money, fr. 10a was arbitrarily taken by ancient biographers to refer to Socrates as the sole person able to resist wealth (cf. note *ad loc.*). Though Naevius' influence from Euripides in his treatment of Danae's legend cannot be established on the basis of the surviving evidence, it is worth noting that the social issue of the maiden's seduction, which occurs in *Danae* fr. 6 and is a recurring theme in Euripides' plays following the same tale-pattern (cf. p. 27f. and note on fr. 6. 2), is also raised by the Latin dramatist in his *Danae* (cf. 1d. The Legend in Latin Literature).

The *Danae* appears to have enjoyed popularity also in the period of the Second Sophistic; fr. 8 is attested by Plutarch to have been recited presumably in the context of the performance of a selection of excerpts about Eros, which is suggestive of the continuing appeal of themes from the play (cf. note *ad loc.*). Echoes of Euripides' treatment of Danae's legend even in later Antiquity may be found in [E.] fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix). The fact that the author of this spurious fragment mainly draws on Lucian may imply that the latter was regarded as alluding to the Euripidean *Danae* in *D. Mar.* 12 (cf. note on T5).

TESTIMONIA

T 1

τῶν δὲ χορικῶν ἀσμάτων τῶν κωμικῶν ἔν τι καὶ ἡ παράβασις, ὅταν ἃ ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸς τὸ θέατρον βούλεται λέγειν, ὁ χορὸς παρελθὼν λέγῃ. ἐπιεικῶς δ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κωμῳδοποιηταί, τραγικὸν δ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλ' Εὐριπίδης αὐτὸ πεποίηκεν ἐν πολλοῖς δράμασιν. ἐν μέν γε τῇ Δανάῃ τὸν χορὸν { τὰς γυναῖκας } ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιήσας παράδειν, ἐκλαθόμενος ὡς ἄνδρας λέγειν ἐποίησε τῷ σχήματι τῆς λέξεως τὰς γυναῖκας. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δ' αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀμίλλης ποιεῖ σπανιάκις, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἱππόνῳ.

T 2

ΔΑΝΑΗ

T 3

ΔΑΝΑΗ

T1 Pollux, 4. 111 (ed. Bethe)
T2 *IG* II/ III^2, 2363, 42 (ed. Kirchner), *TrGF* V,1 Test. B 7a | Piraeus; Catalogus Librorum fortasse e bibliotheca gymnasii, fin. s. II vel init. s. I ^{a}
T3 *IG* XIV, 1152, 18 (ed. Kaibel), *TrGF* V,1 Test. B 6 | Roma; Euripidis Fabularum Index, fortasse s. II ^{p}

T1 2 βούλεται cod. Antverp : βούληται A Π B C || 3 λέγειν A : λέγει Π B C || 4 κωμῳδοποιηταί B: κωμῳδοὶ ποιηταί A || 5 Δανάῃ B: δαναῆ Π: δαναίδι C || 6 τὰς γυναῖκας del. Radt *TrGF* IV 269 || 7 παράδειν B: παριδεῖν A | ἐκλαθόμενος A B: ὁκλαθόμενος Π || 7-8 τῷ σχήματι B : ἐν τῷ σχήματι A Π || 8 τῆς λέξεως B : τῆσδε τῆς λέξεως Π C || 9 ἀμίλλης A B : ἀμάλλης Π || 10 Ἱππόνῳ B: ἱππώνω A

T 4

Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέροις χρόνοις ἔσχε μετὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἄλλον υἱόν, τὸν Περσέα, ἀπὸ εὐπρεποῦς γυναικὸς ὀνόματι Δανάης, θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἀκρισίου τοῦ καταγομένου ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείων χώρας· περὶ ἧς ἐμυθολόγησεν Εὐριπίδης ὁ σοφώτατος ἐν τῇ συντάξει τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος ἐν κιβωτίῳ τινὶ βληθεῖσαν καὶ ῥιφεῖσαν <κατὰ θάλασσαν> τὴν Δανάην, ὡς φθαρεῖσαν ὑπὸ Διὸς μεταβληθέντος εἰς χρυσόν.

T 5

Ὑπόθεσις Δανάης

Ἀκρίσιος Ἄργους ὢν βασιλεὺς κατὰ χρησμὸν
δή τινα τὴν παῖδα Δανάην κατάκλειστον
ἐν τοῖς παρθενῶσιν ἐφύλαττε καλλίστην
οὖσαν· ἧς ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Ζεύς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως
μιχθείη αὐτῇ χρυσὸς γενόμενος καὶ ῥυεὶς
διὰ τοῦ τέγους εἰς τὸν κόλπον τῆς παρθένου
ἐγκύμον' ἐποίησεν. ἐξήκοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου
βρέφος {τὸν Περσέα} ἀπέτεκε. τοῦτο μαθὼν
Ἀκρίσιος εἰς κιβωτὸν ἀμφοτέρους, τήν τε
μητέρα καὶ τὸ βρέφος, ἐνέβαλε καὶ κελεύει ῥίπτειν
κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν. ἰδοῦσαι δὲ ταῦθ' αἱ Νηρηίδες
καὶ κατελεήσασαι τὸ γεγονὸς ἐμβάλλουσι τὴν
κιβωτὸν εἰς δίκτυα Σεριφίων ἁλιέων,
κἀντεῦθεν περιεσώθη ἥ τε μήτηρ καὶ τὸ βρέ-
φος, ὅπερ ἀνδρωθὲν Περσεὺς ὠνομάσθη.
Τὰ τοῦ δράματος πρόσωπα· Ἑρμῆς Δανάη Τροφός
Ἀκρίσιος Ἄγγελος Χορὸς Ἀθηνᾶ

T4 I. Malalas *Chron.* 2. 11 (ed. Thurn)
T5 'Argumentum' *Danaes* in cod. Vatic. Palat. gr. 287, f° 147 ᵛ.

T4 2 Ἡρακλέα Chilmeadus : Ἡρακλέαν O || 7 κατὰ θάλασσαν ex Chron. Pasch. 69. 12 add. Thurn: om. O
T5 6 τέγους cod. : στέγους Nauck || 8 τὸν Περσέα del. Luppe *ZPE* 87, 4 || 11 τὴν θάλατταν cod.: τῆς θαλάσσης Nauck || 15 ὅπερ cod.: ὅσπερ Nauck

T 6

(Δη) οὐκ ἀκήκοας λεγόντων, εἰπέ μοι, Νικήρατε,
τῶν τραγωιδῶν ὡς γενόμενος χρυσὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐρρύη
διὰ τέγους καθειργμένην τε παῖδ' ἐμοίχευσέν ποτε;
(Νι) εἶτα δὴ τί τοῦτο;
(Δη) ἴσως δεῖ πάντα προσδοκᾶν. σκόπει,
τοῦ τέγους εἴ σοι μέρος τι ῥεῖ.
(Νι) τὸ πλεῖστον. ἀλλὰ τὶ
τοῦτο πρὸς ἐκεῖν' ἐστί;
(Δη) τότε μὲν γίνεθ' ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσίον,
τότε δ' ὕδωρ. ὁρᾶις· ἐκείνου τοῦργον ἐστίν. ὡς ταχὺ
εὕρομεν.
(Νι) καὶ βουκολεῖς με.
(Δη) μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, 'γὼ μὲν οὔ.
ἀλλὰ χείρων οὐδὲ μικρὸν Ἀκρισίου δήπουθεν εἶ·
εἰ δ' ἐκείνην ἠξίωσε, τήν γε σήν–

T6 Men. *Samia* 589-598 (ed. Sandbach)

T6 1 λεγόντων εἰπέ μοι B: εἰπέ μοι λεγόν [των C || 2 ὁ Ζεὺς χρυσὸς B C (ut vid.), transp. complures || 3 διὰ τέγους B: διὰ τοῦ τέγους C | καθειργμένην B: κατειργμένην C | τε B: δὲ C || 6 γίνεθ' C: γὰρ γείνεθ' B || 7 ὁρᾶις C: ὁρᾶις τ' B || 10 εἰ δ' C $B^{a.c.}$: ὡς B $^{p.c.}$ | γε C: τε B

FRAGMENTA

Fr. 1 (321 Kn., 6 J.-v.L.):

ἦν γάρ τις αἶνος, ὡς γυναιξὶ μὲν τέχναι
μέλουσι, λόγχῃ δ' ἄνδρες εὐστοχώτεροι.
εἰ γὰρ δόλοισιν ἦν τὸ νικητήριον,
ἡμεῖς ἂν ἀνδρῶν εἴχομεν τυραννίδα.

Fr. 2 (316 Kn., 2 J.-v.L.):

γύναι, καλὸν μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε,
καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμ' ἰδεῖν εὐήνεμον,
γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα πλούσιόν θ' ὕδωρ,
πολλῶν τ' ἔπαινον ἔστι μοι λέξαι καλῶν·
ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω λαμπρὸν οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλὸν
ὡς τοῖς ἅπαισι καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις
παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος.

Fr. 1 Stob. 4. 22g. 172 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A

Fr. 2 Stob. 4. 24a. 5 W.-H. (Ὅτι καλὸν τὸ ἔχειν παῖδας) Εὐριπίδου Δανάη<ι> S M A | 1-4 Arsen. *Cent.* 5. 78 i (edd. Leutsch-Schneidewin) om. fab. nom.

Fr. 1 1 ἦν γάρ τις αἶνος Voss.[2] et Trinc.: †τὴν† γάρ τις αἶνος S M A: αἶνός τις ἆρ' ἦν conieci: ἦν ἄρα τις αἶνος Meineke *Anal. Athen.* 16, coll. Moschion *TrGF* I 97 F8, Cratin. fr. 28 K.-A.: <ἔτυμος ἆρ'> ἦν/ γέρων τις αἶνος van Herwerden *Adnot. Crit. et Exeg. ad Eur.* I 28: ἔστιν τις αἶνος Blaydes: ἦ μάρτυς αἶνος Munro *JPh* 11, 267 || 2 μέλουσι B: μέλλουσι S M A | λόγχῃ ex λόγχαι corr. S

Fr. 2 1 καλὸν van Herwerden *RPh* 2, 56: φίλον S M A || 2 εὐήνεμον S M: ἔκνεμον ut videtur A || 3 θάλλουσα S A: θάλασσα M | πλούσιόν θ' ὕδωρ M A: πλούσιόν τ' ὕδωρ S: ποτάμιόν θ' ὕδωρ Meineke (sed cf. Hsch. π 2622 πλούσιον· θαλασσιοειδές. οἱ δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ): πλούσιον θάλος Schneidewin teste Nauck || 4 ἔπαινον Gaisford: ἐπαίνων S M A || 6 πόθωι S M: πόθου A || 7 νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος S M A: νεογνὸν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν θάλος Schmidt *Anal. Soph.* 132

Fr. 3 (317 Kn., 3 J.-v.L.):

καὶ νῦν παραινῶ πᾶσι τοῖς νεωτέροις
μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους
σχολῇ τεκνοῦσθαι παῖδας —οὐ γὰρ ἡδονή,
γυναικί τ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ—,
ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα. καὶ γὰρ ἐκτροφαὶ καλαὶ
καὶ συννεάζων ἡδὺ παῖς νέῳ πατρί.

Fr. 4 (318 Kn., 4 J.-v.L.):

γυνὴ γὰρ ἐξελθοῦσα πατρῴων δόμων
οὐ τῶν τεκόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέχους·
τὸ δ' ἄρσεν ἔστηκ' ἐν δόμοις ἀεὶ γένος
θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ τάφων τιμάορον.

Fr. 3 Stob. 4. 22e. 115 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ὅτι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τὰς τῶν συναπτομένων ἡλικίας χρὴ σκοπεῖν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A
Fr. 4 Stob. 4. 24c. 34 W.-H. (Περὶ παίδων· ὅτι κρείττονες οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν παίδων) Εὐριπίδου fab. nom. om. S M A, ecl. cum lemm. hab. S M, sine lemm. A. | Arsen. *Cent.* 5. 78e (Leutsch-Schneidewin) om. fab. nom. || 1-2 Stob. 4. 22g. 148 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S A: Εὐριπίδου δαναη M

Fr. 3 2 τοὺς γάμους S M A: ἀναβολὰς Nauck coll. Men. *Thesaurus* fr. 176. 8 K.-A. | ποιουμένους S M A: ποιουμένοις Bothe || 4 del. Jouan-van Looy | τ' S M A: δ' Elmsley ad *Ba.* 859 || 5-6 om. S || Goossens (*Chr. Ég.* 16, 109s.) huc fr. inc. 1007e+f traxit
Fr. 4 1 γὰρ Stob. 4. 22g. 148: μὲν Stob. 4. 24c. 34, Arsen. || 3 ἔστηκ' ἐν A: ἔστηκεν ἐν S: ἔστηκεν M || 4 τιμάορον Valesius : τιμᾷ ὅρον Stob., Arsen.

Fr. 5 (319 Kn., 5 J.-v.L.):

συμμαρτυρῶ σοι· πανταχοῦ λελείμμεθα
πᾶσαι γυναῖκες ἀρσένων ἀεὶ δίχα.

Fr. 6 (320 Kn., 7 J.-v.L.):

οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα
οὔτ' ἄλλο δυσφύλακτον οὐδὲν ὡς γυνή.

Fr. 5 Stob. 4. 22g. 174 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν) S M A, Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S A: Δανάης M

Fr. 6 Stob. 4. 23. 13 W.-H. (Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα) Εὐριπίδου (om. S) Δανάης (S: Δανάη M A), idem locus cum lemm. Ἀλέξιδος legitur Stob. 4. 22g. 154 W.-H. (Περὶ γάμου· ψόγος γυναικῶν); inter dubia Alexidis fr. 340 K.-A.

Fr. 5 2 δίχα S M A: δίκτι Madvig *Adv. Cr.* I 719: λίαν Schmidt *Krit. Stud.* II 463

Fr. 6 1 χρήματα Stob. 4. 23. 13 et Stob. 4. 22g. 154 S: χρῆμα Stob. 4. 22g. 154 M A || 2 οὔτ' Stob. 4. 23. 13: οὔδ' Stob. 4. 22g. 154 | οὐδὲν Stob. 4. 23. 13 et Stob. 4. 22g. 154 S: οὐθὲν Stob. 4. 22g. 154 M A, cf. Arnott, *Alexis,* 89s.

Fr. 7 (324 Kn., 8 J.-v.L.):
ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίωμα κάλλιστον βροτοῖς,
ὡς οὔτε μήτηρ ἡδονὰς τοιάσδ' ἔχει,
οὐ παῖδες ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐ φίλος πατήρ,
{οἵας σὺ τοῖς σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοις.}
εἰ δ' ἡ Κύπρις τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ, 5
οὐ θαῦμ' ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν τρέφειν.

Fr. 7 1-3, 5-6 *P. Ross. Georg.* i 9 (edd. Zereteli et Krüger), Stob. 4. 31a. 4 W.-H. (Περὶ πλούτου· ἔπαινος πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου Δανάηι S M A || 1-6 Ath. 4. 159B om. fab. et poet. nom. οὗτοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μονονουχὶ βοῶντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν_____τοιαύτη τις ἦν ἡ φιλοχρηματία παρὰ τοῖς τοτε || 1-4 S.E. *M.* 1. 279 om. fab. et poet. nom. οὕτως ἔστι καὶ ὁ τοὐναντίον ἀποφαινόμενος_____|| 1-3 Athenag. *Supp. pro Christ.* 29 om. fab. et poet. nom. ἦ τοίνυν θεοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς πρὸς χρυσὸν εἶχον _____ ἀνεπιδεὲς γὰρ καὶ κρεῖττον ἐπιθυμίας τὸ θεῖον || 1-2 D.S. 37. 30.2 om. fab. et poet. nom., Const. Porph. *Sent.* 460 (p. 400, 21-26 Boissevain) om. fab. et poet. nom. τοσαύτην ὁ χρυσὸς ἔχει δύναμιν ἐπὶ κακῷ προτιμώμενος ἀφρόνως παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, οἵτινες διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἐπιθυμίας παρ' ἕκαστα προφέρονται τούτους τοὺς στίχους τῶν ποιητῶν_____ || 1 Luc. *Gall.* 14 om. fab. et poet. nom. ὁρᾷς ὅσων ἀγαθῶν ὁ χρυσὸς αἴτιος, εἴ γε καὶ μεταποιεῖ τοὺς ἀμορφοτέρους καὶ ἐρασμίους ἀπεργάζεται ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητικὸς ἐκεῖνος κεστός. ἀκούεις δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόντων_____ | Luc. *Tim.* 41 om. fab. et poet. nom ἀλλὰ μὴν χρυσίον ἐστὶν ἐπίσημον, ὑπέρυθρον, βαρὺ καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν ὑπερήδιστον_____ | S.E. *M.* 11. 122 om. poet. et fab. nom. καὶ τὸ τραγικὸν ἀποδέχεσθαι_____ | Greg. Nyss. *Ep.* 14. 2 falso Pindaro tribuit τὸ κάλλιστον ὄντως δεξίωμα κατὰ Πίνδαρον | Tz. *Ep.* 43 ὦ χρυσέ, δεξίαμα κάλλιστον || 1-3, 5-6 Sen. *Ep.* 115. 14 latine vertit sed errore *Bellerophonti* tribuit: *pecunia ingens generis humani bonum/ cui non voluptas matris aut blandae potest/ par esse prolis, non sacer meritis parens./ tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat,/ merito illa amores coelitum atque hominum movet.* Cum hi novissimi versus in tragoedia Euripidis pronuntiati essent, totus populus ad eiciendum et actorem et carmen consurrexit uno impetu, donec Euripides in medium ipse prosiluit petens ut expectarent viderentque quem admiratori auri exitum faceret. Dabat in illa fabula poenas Bellerophontes.

Fr. 7 1 χρυσέ plerique: χρυσίον S.E. E D | δεξίωμα Stob., Ath. C, S.E., D.S., Athenag. S: δεξίαμα *P. Ross. Georg.*, Ath. A, Athenag. N P, Luc. *Gall.* et *Tim.* P, Tzetz.| βροτοῖς plerique.: βροτοῖσιν Athenag. P: κτέρας Luc. *Gall.* γ: κτέαρ Luc. *Gall.* U || 2 οὔτε *P. Ross. Georg.*, Ath., S.E., Athenag., D.S.: οὐδὲ Stob. | ἡδονὰς codd.: ηττονας *P. Ross. Georg.* | τοιάσδ' *P. Ross. Georg.*, Stob. A, Ath., Athenag.: τοίας Stob. S, S.E. || 3 ἀνθρώποισιν plerique: ἀνθρώποισι *P. Ross. Georg.*: ἐν δόμοισιν Ath.: αὐθαίμοισιν Schmidt || 4 om. *P. Ross. Georg.*, Stob. et Seneca, delevi ; spurium esse censuerunt Grotius, Körte *APF* 8, 259, Jouan et van Looy | τοῖς σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοις Schmidt *ZfA* 14, 550: χοὶ σὲ δώμασιν κεκτημένοι Ath., S.E. || 5 ὀφθαλμοῖς plerique: ὀφθαλμοῖσιν Stob. S || 6 τρέφειν Stob.: ἔχειν *P. Ross. Georg.*, Ath.

Fr. 8 (322 Kn., 17 J.-v.L.):

ἔρως γὰρ ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφυ·
φιλεῖ κάτοπτρα καὶ κόμης ξανθίσματα,
φεύγει δὲ μόχθους. ἓν δέ μοι τεκμήριον·
οὐδεὶς προσαιτῶν βίοτον ἠράσθη βροτῶν,
ἐν τοῖς δ' ἔχουσιν † ἡβητὴς πέφυχ' ὅδε. 5

Fr. 9 (326 Kn., 11 J.-v.L.):

ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὁθούνεχ' οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς βροτῶν
πένητες ὄντες οὐδὲν ἀλφάνουσ' ἔτι,
οἳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν πρόσθεν, ὄλβιοι δὲ νῦν,
δόξαν φέρονται τοῦ νομίσματος χάριν
καὶ συμπλέκοντες σπέρμα καὶ γάμους τέκνων ; 5

Fr. 8 Stob. 4. 20b. 40 W.-H. (Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης) Εὐριπίδου Δανάη<ι> S M A | 1 Plut. *Amatorius* 13. 757A (ed. Hubert) om. poet. et fab. nom. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς σκηνῆς ἀκούομεν_____ καὶ πάλιν (S. fr. inc. 941. 1-4 R.) | *ibid.* 17. 760D σκόπει τοίνυν αὖθις ἔφη τοῖς ἀρηίοις ἔργοις ὅσον Ἔρως περίεστιν, οὐκ ἀργὸς ὤν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἔλεγεν, οὐδ' ἀστράτευτος οὐδ' ἐν μαλακαῖσιν ἐννυχεύων παρειαῖς νεανίδων.

Fr. 9 Stob. 4. 31b. 41 W.-H. (Περὶ πλούτου· ὅσα πλοῦτος ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν πλείστων ἄνοιαν) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης M A om. S | Stob. 4. 31a. 29 W.-H. (Περὶ πλούτου· ἔπαινος πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου † Ἑκάβη (S A M $^{p.c.}$: αἰκ- M $^{a.c.}$)

Fr. 8 1 τοῖς ἀργοῖς Pierson: τοῖς ἔργοις Stob. S M A: τοιούτοις Plut. || 5 ἡβητὴς S M A corruptum: εὐπετὴς F.W. Schmidt: ἐγγενὴς Stadtmüller *WklPh* 7, 286-293: ἐγκρατὴς Wagner : δεσπότης Kayser *RhM* 7, 126: ἁβροβάτης Gomperz *SAWW* 29, 183-185: ἐργάτης Müller, *Soph. Antigone*, 173: ἡλίκος M. Schmidt *ZfA* 14, 551

Fr. 9 1 ὁθούνεχ' οἱ μὲν edd. (ὅθ' οὕνεχ' οἱ μὲν iam Barnes): ὅθ' οὕναχ' οἱ μὲν Trinc.: ὁτοῦν ἔχοιμεν Stob. 4. 31a. 29 S: ὅτ' οὖν ἔχοιμεν utrobique M A || 2 ἀλφάνουσ' Stob. 4. 31b. 41 M: ἀναφαίνουσ' utroque loco A: ἐμφαίνουσ' Stob. 4. 31a. 29 S M: ἐκφανεῖς Musgrave: ἐμφανεῖς Dindorf *Th.Gr.L.* 3, 926C || 4 habent M A in Stob. 4. 31b. 41, inter lineas add. S, om. Stob. 4. 31a. 29 M A || 5 συμπλέκοντες Stob. 4. 31a. 29 : συμπλέκονται Stob. 4. 31b. 41 : εὖ συμπλέκοντες Enger *Adnot. ad Trag. Graec. Frr.* 12 | καὶ γάμους utrobique: γενναῖον Hense

δοῦναι δὲ πᾶς τις μᾶλλον ὀλβίῳ κακῷ
πρόθυμός ἐστιν ἢ πένητι κἀγαθῷ.
κακὸς δ' ὁ μὴ ἔχων, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες † ὄλβιοι.

Fr. 10 (325 Kn., 9 J.-v.L.):

κρείσσων γὰρ οὐδεὶς χρημάτων πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,
πλὴν εἴ τις— ὅστις δ' οὗτός ἐστιν οὐχ ὁρῶ.

Fr. 10a (325a Kn., 10 J.-v.L.):

Sententia περὶ πλεονεξίας

Fr. 10 Stob. 3. 10. 18 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀδικίας) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δανάης M A

Fr. 10a Satyr. *Vit. Eur. P. Oxy.* ix 1176 (ed. Hunt), fr. 38 col. iv + fr. 39 col. i (p. 52 Arrighetti) μετῆλθεν [δ]ὲ πρὸς τ[ὸ αἰ]σχ[ρ]ὸν π[αρὰ τῶι] ὄ[χ]λωι τ[ῶι] θαυμά[ζει]ν τὸν Σω[κρά]τη πολὺ [μάλιστ]α ὥστ' ἀπ[οφα]ινόμενο[ς ἐν] τῆι Δανάη[ι π]ερὶ πλεονε[ξί]ας μόνον [αὐ]τὸν πάν[τ]ων ἐποιή[σα]τ' ἐξαίρετον: hoc testimonium fragmento 10 coniunctum esse proposuit von Arnim *Suppl. Eur.* 4, probantibus Arrighetti 115 et Webster *Tragedies*, 25

Fr. 9 6 δὲ Stob. 4. 31a. 29: τε Stob. 4. 31b. 41 | πᾶς τις μᾶλλον ὀλβίῳ Stob. 4. 31b. 41: μᾶλλον πλουσίῳ πᾶς τις Stob. 4. 31a. 29 || 8 om. Stob. 4. 31a. 29 | ὄλβιοι Stob. utrobique, corruptum: εὐγενεῖς Hense, prob. West *BICS* 30, 72: οὐκέτι West : οὐ κακοί Blaydes

Fr. 10 1 οὐδεὶς S M A: οὔτις tacite Nauck | χρημάτων M A: ῥημάτων S || 2 εἴ τις S M A $^{m.\ sec.}$: οὔτις vel ὅστις $A^{m.\ pr.}$: εἷς τις Porson *Advers.* 274 | οὐχ ὁρῶ S M A: οὐκ ἐρῶ Badham *Iph. T.*, Praef. 3, Cobet *Adv. Crit.* 217, von Arnim *Suppl. Eur.* 4: οὐ λέγω Schmidt *Sat. Crit.* 5

Fr. 11 (327 Kn., 12 J.-v.L.):

φιλοῦσι γάρ τοι τῶν μὲν ὀλβίων βροτοὶ
σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ὅταν δέ τις
λεπτῶν ἀπ' οἴκων εὖ λέγῃ πένης ἀνήρ,
γελᾶν· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλάκις σοφωτέρους
πένητας ἄνδρας εἰσορῶ τῶν πλουσίων
καὶ <τοὺς> θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη
τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους.

Fr. 12 (328 Kn., 13 J.-v.L.):

ὅστις δόμοις μὲν ἥδεται πληρουμένοις,
γαστρὸς δ' ἀφαιρῶν σῶμα δύστηνος κακοῖ,
τοῦτον νομίζω κἂν θεῶν συλᾶν βρέτη
τοῖς φιλτάτοις τε πολέμιον πεφυκέναι.

Fr. 11 Stob. 4. 33. 14 W.-H. (Σύγκρισις πενίας καὶ πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου (poet. nom. om. S) Δανάη<ι> S M A | 6-7 Ath. 2. 40D (om. nom. fab.) Εὐριπίδης φησὶ καὶ σημαίνει ὧδε τὸ τέλος τὴν θυσίαν || 6 Schol. Eust. *Il.* 12.59 (van der Valk) δῆλον δ' ὅτι τέλος καὶ ἡ θυσία Εὐριπίδης ὅθεν καὶ αἱ τελεταὶ θυσίας ἔχουσαι.

Fr. 12 Stob. 3. 16. 6 W.-H. (Περὶ φειδωλίας) Εὐριπίδου (τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δανάης M A

Fr. 11 2 τίθεσθαι Valckenaer *Diatr.* 8s.: ἡγεῖσθαι S M A: νομίζειν Blaydes: ἄγεσθαι Conington || 3 λεπτῶν S M A: λειτῶν Nauck || 4 πολλάκις sup. lin. add. S $^{m.\ pr.}$ || 6 θεοῖσι μικρὰ θύοντας Ath., τοὺς add. Meineke, prob. Nauck, Blaydes, Collard *RFIC* 97, 174: τοῖς add. Grot. *Dict. Poet.* 551: θεοῖς (θεοῖσι Canter, Grotius) μικρᾷ χειρὶ θύοντας Stob.

Fr. 12 1 δόμοις . . . πληρουμένοις M A $^{m.\ sec.}$, prob. Kannicht, coll. *Heracl.* 605: δόμους . . . πληρουμένους S A$^{m.\ pr.}$ || 2 δύστηνος S M A $^{m.\ pr.}$: δύστηνον A$^{m.\ sec.}$ || 3 νομίζω S M A: νόμιζε Wilamowitz | κἂν Pflugk : καὶ S M A | συλᾶν S M A $^{p.c.}$: ἐλᾶν A$^{a.c.}$

Fr. 13 (323 Kn., 14 J.-v.L.):

τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς
πηδῶν ἀθύροι καὶ φιλημάτων ὄχλῳ
ψυχὴν ἐμὴν κτήσαιτο· ταῦτα γὰρ βροτοῖς
φίλτρον μέγιστον, αἱ ξυνουσίαι, πάτερ.

Fr. 14 (329 Kn., 15 J.-v.L.):

φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἁπανταχοῦ
πρέπει χαρακτὴρ χρηστὸς εἰς εὐψυχίαν.

Fr. 13 Stob. 4. 24d. 53 W.-H. (Περὶ παίδων· περὶ νηπίων) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης S M A
Fr. 14 Stob. 3. 7. 5 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀνδρείας) Εὐριπίδης Δανάηι M A, om. S

Fr. 13 2 πηδῶν S M A: πεσὼν vel πίτνων Nauck || 3 βροτοῖς om. A || 4 φίλτρον μέγιστον M A: μέγιστον φίλτρον μέγιστον S
Fr. 14 2 πρέπει M A : βλέπει Jacobs : ῥέπει Heath

Fr. 15 (330 Kn., 16 J.-v.L.):

ἐς ταὐτὸν ἥκειν φημὶ τὰς βροτῶν τύχας
τῷδ ' ὃν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ', οὗ τάδ' ἔστι δή·
οὗτος θέρους τε λαμπρὸν ἐκλάμπει σέλας,
χειμῶνά τ' αὔξει συντιθεὶς πυκνὸν νέφος,
θάλλειν τε καὶ μή, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ·
οὕτω δὲ θνητῶν σπέρμα· τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ
λαμπρᾷ γαλήνῃ, τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν,
ζῶσίν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν, οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα
φθίνουσ' ἐτείοις προσφερεῖς μεταλλαγαῖς.

FRAGMENTUM SEDIS MAGIS INCERTAE

Fr. 16 (330a Kn., 1 J.-v.L.):

χρησμῳδία

Fr. 15 Stob. 1. 7. 8 W.-H. (Ὅτι ἀλόγιστος ἡ φορὰ τῆς τύχης) Εὐριπίδου Δανάης F, lemma om. P

Fr. 16 *Lex. Messanense de iota adscripto* fol. 282^{v} 13 (ed. Rabe *RhM* 47, 410) χρησμῳδὸς σὺν τῷ ι. Σοφοκλῆς Ταντάλωι (fr. 573 R.) παρ' ὃ ... καὶ χρησμῳδία. Εὐριπίδης Δανάηι

Fr. 15 1 τὰς βροτῶν τύχας P: τὰς τῶν βροτῶν τύχας F: ταῖς βροτῶν τύχαις Musgrave || 2 τῷδ ' Blaydes: τόνδ' F P: τόν θ' Grotius | οὗ non genitivus originis, ut Bothe coniecit ('ex quo mundus genitus'), sed genitivus possessivus: ᾧ F P: ὅστις ἐστὶ δὴ Porson (teste Nauck): ὃν πάρεστ' ἰδεῖν Schmidt *Krit. Stud.* II 465 || 3 ἐκλάμπει F P: ἐκπέμπει Nauck coll. A. *Ag.* 281 || 6 δὲ Scaliger: δὴ FP | σπέρμα τῶν Canter : σπερμάτων F P || 6-7 τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ F P: τοτὲ μὲν...τοτὲ δὲ Gomperz || 9 ἐτείοις προσφερεῖς Valckenaer: αἰτίοις προσφόροις F P: προσφερῶς Wachsmuth: προσφόρως Meineke

COMMENTARY

T 1:

Thanks to Pollux's testimony, we are in a position to know that the chorus was female, perhaps consisting of Argive women or maidens sympathetic to Danae's situation[125] (for the sympathy towards Danae possibly expressed by the chorus, cf. note on fr. 14). Female choruses are also a basic medium for the connotation of intimacy within the *oikos*, as women in tragedy have a separate place from the male sphere of activity,[126] not least Danae who has been literally subject to seclusion. What needs to be questioned, however, is the validity of Pollux's statement that Euripides inserted a type of *parabasis,* where he used the chorus as his mouthpiece and accidentally made them refer to themselves in masculine gender. The interpretation of tragic passages as containing the poet's direct address to the audience is common in ancient criticism (cf. schol. *Alc.* 962 Schwartz,[127] Plut. *Mor.* 539 B-C). It can be attributed to the commentators' zeal to assign viewpoints expressed by the chorus-leader in the first person singular to the poet himself, in order to accumulate as much biographical detail as possible.[128] Hence, this sort of interpretation is arbitrary and there is no evidence from tragic texts to support it (cf. note on fr. 10a).[129]

An interestingly parallel case to Pollux's statement is provided by the ancient scholiast of *Hipp.* 1102 (Schwartz), who assigned the masculine participles *κεύθων* (1105) and *λεύσσων* (1107) to the female chorus, thus supposing that they are speaking on behalf of the poet: γυναῖκες μέν εἰσιν αἱ τοῦ χοροῦ. μεταφέρει δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ποιητὴς καταλιπὼν τὰ χορικὰ πρόσωπα· μετοχαῖς γὰρ

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[125] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 54.

[126] Cf. Easterling (1987) 25.

[127] The same phrasing is used to describe the comic *parabasis* in schol. vet. Ar. *Nu.* 518 Holwerda (the poet is thought of as speaking through the *πρόσωπον* of the chorus). Aeschines (i 151-153) cites Euripidean passages as bearing the poet's own voice for the purposes of his argumentation. Cf. also Ael. Aristides xxviii 97 Keil.

[128] Cf. Bain (1975) 15, 16 and n. 1.

[129] *op.cit.* 14-23.

ἀρσενικαῖς κέχρηται. Nevertheless, as Bond convincingly argued,[130] the reasonable inference is that the strophe of the ode containing the masculine participles was sung by the subsidiary male chorus of Hippolytus' followers prompted by the hero to escort him from his country in v. 1098f. (ἴτ', ὦ νέοι μοι τῆσδε γῆς ὁμήλικες,/ προσείπαθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ προπέμψατε χθονός). Considering that secondary choruses are often misleadingly designated as *XOPOC* in the manuscripts (in *Hipp.* 61, *Pha.* 227 Diggle, A. *Eum.* 1032),[131] the scholiast could have been easily deluded into thinking that the strophe of the ode was sung by the female chorus. Likewise, Pollux or, more likely, his source (perhaps a scholium or biographer)— considering that his work is mainly derivative [132]— might have supposed that the main female chorus referred to themselves using masculine forms as the poet's mouthpiece, based on a manuscript designating a feasible subsidiary chorus of men as *XOPOC*.[133] Alternatively, there are cases in tragedy, where a female character refers to herself using the masculine plural, which has generalizing overtones;[134] cf. the chorus-leader in A. *Supp.* 204 and also female characters in *Alc.* 383, *Med.* 315f., *IA* 824, S. *Ant.* 926, *Tr.* 491. It is thus conceivable that the female chorus-leader of the *Danae* might have referred to herself using the generalizing masculine plural, which would explain Pollux's remark on the use of masculine forms by a female chorus. The additional reference to the chorus as Sophocles' mouthpiece in the *Hipponous* could be attributed to the trend of ancient criticism to regard Sophocles and Euripides as overt rivals (cf. schol. vet. E. *Ph.* 1 Schwartz).[135]

T2:

This inscription dated at the end of the second/ beginning of the first century BC is likely to be a list of the contents of book-rolls donated to the

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[130] Cf. Bond (1980) 59-63.
[131] Cf. Barrett (1964) 167.
[132] Cf. *OCD* [3] s.v. 'Pollux'.
[133] Cf. Barrett (1964) 366.
[134] Cf. Kühner-Gerth (1904[3]) I 83: 'so tritt an die Stelle der Femininform die Maskulinform, als die allgemeinere Bezeichnung der Persönlichkeit überhaupt', Langholf (1977) 291, Petersmann (1979) 148, also *TrGF* V,1 on *Ino* fr. 413. 4.
[135] Cf. Bain (1975) 17 and n. 1. Comparison between Sophocles and Euripides in terms of dramatic technique occurs often in ancient scholia; cf. schol. S. *Ai.* 520 (Christodoulou), schol. S. *OT* 264 (Papageorgius), schol. S. *OC* 220 (De Marco) and Bain (1975) 17, n. 2.

Library of a Gymnasium in Piraeus presumably by epheboi from various demes of Attica.[136] The remains of the list preserve the titles of twenty plays of Euripides (*Scyrioi, Stheneboea, Sciron, Sisyphus, Thyestes, Theseus, Danae, Polyidus, Peliades, Pleisthenes, Palamedes, Peleus, Protesilaus, Philoctetes, Phoenix, Phrixus, Alcmene, Alexandros, Eurystheus, Alcestis*) and, according to Wilamowitz's estimation, about thirty-one titles appear to have been mentioned,[137] that is, thirty-one out of the seventy-eight surviving Euripidean plays of Aristophanes' edition. It is noteworthy that this catalogue antedates Didymus' earliest attested commentary on Euripides (second half of the first century BC/ beginning of the first century AD), which is reasonably regarded as the first step to the 'selection'; the annotated tragedies were made very prominent and thus likelier to survive in the long run (cf. General Introduction, p. xvi). Hence, this inscription seems to indicate that some plays, which in the centuries to follow presumably became obtainable mainly among literary circles,[138] were widely read by the beginning of the first century BC. On the basis of our evidence, the appeal of the *Danae* appears to have continued until late antiquity (cf. General Introduction, p. xviii, Reception and Appendix).

T3:

Roman seated relief-statuette of Euripides found on Esquiline and kept in Louvre (Richter 1965, I fig. 760-1),[139] tentatively dated in the second century AD.[140] The poet's name is inscribed on the plinth and forty-one titles of his plays (thirty-seven titles with *Alcmeon, Autolycus, Iphigenia* and *Melanippe* counted twice) are preserved in the background in alphabetic order. At the lost part of the background, there is space for the remaining thirty-seven titles of Euripides' seventy-eight *σωιζόμενα* of the Alexandrian edition.[141] The alphabetic list of the Euripidean corpus in *P.Oxy.* xxvii 2456 belongs to the same era. There is no evidence as to whether all of the inscribed plays were extant by that time; nonetheless, it should be noted that the process of consolidation of the 'selection' seems

[136] Cf. note on *IG* II/ III^2 2363, Zuntz (1965) 251, n. 6, Marrou (1948) 259, Tod (1957) 139.
[137] Wilamowitz (1875) 138.
[138] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 254f.
[139] Cf. Richter (1959) II 21f.
[140] Cf. Kannicht (1996) 22, n. 2, *TrGF* V,1 57, Pechstein (1998) 29 and n. 58.
[141] Cf. note on *IG* XIV 1152, Pechstein (1998) 29-32.

to have been gradual, to judge from the number of papyri of 'non-select' plays dating to that era and even later and presumably studied in literary circles,[142] as well as their revivals at least till the end of the second century (cf. General Introduction, p. xvif.). The *Danae* seems to have been among those plays obtainable in literary circles, as emerges from Lucian's allusion to the context of the situation of *Danae* fr. 7 (*Timon* 41) and the possibility of his inspiration from the play in *D. Mar.* 12 (cf. note on T5). Its appeal in late antiquity is further suggested by [E.] fr. 1132 Kn. (cf. Appendix and Reception).

T 4:

According to John Malalas, Euripides treated the disclosure of Danae's seduction and her exposure in the chest. This brief reference accords with the accounts of Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1 and is confirmed by frr. 6 (the revelation of Danae's seduction) and 13 (Danae's plea to be exposed together with her baby son). Malalas is not usually a helpful source for the restoration of Euripidean lost plays, firstly because he seems to have had only indirect knowledge of Euripides, possibly drawing on Domninos,[143] and secondly in view of his fusion of material from Hellenic, Old Testament, Christian and Antiochene sources. These two factors account for his quite vague (as the present testimonium, which adds nothing to our knowledge of the play) and at times inaccurate references to Euripidean treatments of certain myths (e.g. in 5. 18 he mentions that the dramatist wrote on the three-eyed Cyclops and in 2. 15 he attributes the content of *Ba.* 28f. to Pentheus rather than Dionysus).

Malalas' aetiological reasoning often leads him to reject firmly the Euripidean versions mentioned in his work in favour of more rationalizing ones.[144] In the case of the *Danae*, for instance, he juxtaposes Euripides' treatment to Boutios' more truthful version of the story, according to which Picus Zeus —the figure of the ruler as conflated from Hellenic and

[142] Cf. *Archelaus* (*P.Oxy.* iii 419, second/ third century AD), *Cretans* (*P. Berol.* 13217, second century AD), *Hypsipyle* (*P.Oxy.* vi 852, late second/ early third AD), *Cresphontes* (*P.Oxy.* xxvii 2458, third century AD), *Oedipus* (*P.Oxy.* xxvii 2459, fourth century AD), *Captive Melanippe* (*P.Berol.* 5514, fifth century AD) and the parchment text of the *Phaethon* (Paris Gk. ms. 107B, fifth/ sixth century AD).

[143] Cf. Bourier (1900) II 57, 61, Jeffreys (1990_b) 179, 196f.

[144] Cf. Jeffreys (1990_a) 62.

Eastern sources— lured Danae by offering her much gold (cf. fr. 7 and opening note *ad loc.* for the interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery). Likewise, Zeus' transformation into a satyr to seduce Antiope is contrasted to Cephalion's rationalizing narrative (2. 16 Thurn).

T5:

This passage transmitted in the fourteenth-century Ms P (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f° 147^{v}) as *Ὑπόθεσις Δανάης* follows the spurious *IA* 1578-1629 [145] and precedes the sixty-five lines of the equally spurious '*Danae*–prologue' ([E.] fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix).[146] On metrical and linguistic grounds, *IA* 1578-1629 and the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. are dated between the fourth and seventh century.[147] In view of their similarity in technique, West assumed that both pieces may have been composed by the same author and that fr. 1132 Kn. may have been written with the same purpose as the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, namely as a specially composed supplement aiming to replace the lost beginning of the *Danae* by someone who had volumes from an alphabetic collection of Euripides' plays at his disposal.[148] The implications of this suggestion are dealt with in the relevant discussion (cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness), where the question whether the '*Danae*-prologue' could have been written as an independent composition, perhaps as a rhetorical exercise aiming to imitate a Euripidean opening, is also raised and regarded as worth exploring. *IA* 1570-1629 followed by the *Danae* 'hypothesis', '*personarum index*' and 'prologue' were added in P (f° 147^{r}-148^{r}) by a second hand, aptly identified by Turyn as that of the learned rubricator Ioannes Katrares.[149]

The 'hypothesis' (97 words) is clearly much shorter than the narrative/ mythographic hypotheses of Euripidean plays (mainly preserved in papyri), which are estimated to have been written in about the first century BC [150] and amount to 170-200 words. The manuscript hypothesis

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[145] Cf. Page (1934) 197, Pohlenz (1954^{2}) I 459, Lesky (1972^{3}) 449.
[146] Cf. Elmsley (1811) 77 and (1813) 432, Jacobs (1834) 607-635, Wünsch (1896) 138-153, Rein (1926) 109-129, Zielinski (1925) 285-304.
[147] Cf. West (1981) 75.
[148] *op. cit.* 75 and 78, n. 49.
[149] Cf. Turyn (1964) 127 and Zuntz (1965) 179.
[150] Cf. Zuntz (1955) 138f.

of the *Alcestis*, which seems to be a synopsis of the original mythographic hypothesis (partially surviving in *P. Oxy.* 2457, ll. 1-17),[151] also amounts to 90 words. Luppe noted in the present account some elements of vocabulary and style, which he regarded as features of mythographic hypotheses of Euripides' plays and attempted to reconstruct the original hypothesis of the *Danae* on the basis of this narrative.[152] These elements are: the beginning of the 'hypothesis' with the name and social position of a central character: Ἀκρίσιος Ἄργους ὢν βασιλεύς (here, however, with a participle instead of a sentence, and omission of the regular genealogy): cf. hypp. *Hipp.* (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 2. 44, l. 6f.): Θησεὺς υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Ποσειδῶνος, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίων, *Sthen.* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 5, l. 10f.), *Phrixus A* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 14. 3, l. 7), κατὰ χρησμόν: hyp. *IT* (l. 1 Diggle), ἐρασθείς: hyp. *Aeolus* (*P. Oxy.* 2457, l. 25), ἐγκύμονα (ἔγκυον originally) ἐποίησεν: hypp. *Ion* (l. 1 Diggle), *Scyrioi* (*PSI* 1286, l. 47f.), *Mel. S.* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 2, l. 7), κελεύει (ἐκέλευσε originally): hypp. *Med.* (*P. IFAO* inv. P.S.P. 248, l. 12), *Ba.* (l. 9 Diggle), *Hipp. Cal.* (*P. Mich.* inv. 6222A, l. 30), κατελεήσασαι (ἐλεήσασαι originally): hyp. *Ph.* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 17.4, l. 15), τὸ γεγονός: hypp. *Hec.* (l. 14 Diggle), *Ba.* (l. 14 Diggle).

Nevertheless, there is a serious issue to be tackled before accepting Luppe's reconstruction. The Nereids of the 'hypothesis' occur in Lucian's *D. Mar.* 12 as well, where Doris and Thetis rescue Danae and Perseus by pushing the chest into the nets of Seriphian fishermen. On this basis, Kannicht expressed his reservation as to the provenance of 'hyp.' *Danae* from the original narrative hypothesis of the play, in view also of certain common stylistic elements between the narrative in question and Lucian's dialogue, which could suggest that 'hyp.' *Danae* derived from Lucian.[153] The dialogue runs as follows:

> ΔΩΡΙΣ Τί δακρύεις, ὦ Θέτι;
> ΘΕΤΙΣ Καλλίστην, ὦ Δωρί, κόρην εἶδον ἐς κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβληθεῖσαν, αὐτήν τε καὶ βρέφος αὐτῆς ἀρτιγέννητον· ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ναύτας ἀναλαβόντας τὸ κιβώτιον, ἐπειδὰν πολὺ τῆς γῆς ἀποσπάσωσιν, ἀφεῖναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἀπόλοιτο ἡ ἀθλία, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ τὸ βρέφος.

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[151] Cf. Austin (1968) 89, Haslam (1975) 152f., Luppe (1982) 14-16.
[152] Luppe (1991) 2-7.
[153] Kannicht (1992) 33f.

ΔΩΡΙΣ Τίνος ἕνεκα, ὦ ἀδελφή; εἰπέ, εἴ τι ἔμαθες ἀκριβῶς.
ΘΕΤΙΣ Ἅπαντα. ὁ γὰρ Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς καλλίστην οὖσαν ἐπαρθένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλών· εἶτα, εἰ μὲν ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλότυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπό τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν.
ΔΩΡΙΣ Ἡ δὲ τί ἔπραττεν, ὦ Θέτι, ὁπότε καθίετο;
ΘΕΤΙΣ Ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν ἐσίγα, ὦ Δωρί, καὶ ἔφερε τὴν καταδίκην. τὸ βρέφος δὲ παρῃτεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρύουσα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ δεικνύουσα αὐτό, κάλλιστον ὄν· τὸ δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τῶν κακῶν ὑπεμειδία πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. ὑποπίμπλαμαι αὖθις τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύων μνημονεύσασα αὐτῶν.
ΔΩΡΙΣ Κἀμὲ δακρῦσαι ἐποίησας. ἀλλ' ἤδη τεθνᾶσιν;
ΘΕΤΙΣ Οὐδαμῶς· νήχεται γὰρ ἔτι ἡ κιβωτὸς ἀμφὶ τὴν Σέριφον ζῶντας αὐτοὺς φυλάττουσα.
ΔΩΡΙΣ Τί οὖν οὐχὶ σῴζομεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἁλιεῦσι τούτοις ἐμβαλοῦσαι ἐς τὰ δίκτυα τοῖς Σεριφίοις; οἱ δὲ ἀνασπάσαντες σώσουσι δῆλον ὅτι.
ΘΕΤΙΣ Εὖ λέγεις, οὕτω ποιῶμεν· μὴ γὰρ ἀπολέσθω μήτε αὐτὴ μήτε τὸ παιδίον οὕτως ὂν καλόν.

As regards the thematic resemblance between Lucian's dialogue and 'hyp.' *Danae,* it is noteworthy that Euripides was very popular in the second sophistic[154] and evidently the second most quoted poet after Homer in Lucian's work.[155] The latter regularly cites and alludes to Euripides [156] and in certain cases he even makes unassigned references to lines or scenes from Euripidean drama, probably assuming that they are easily recognizable by his readers (cf. *Med.* 340 in *Cat.* 8, *Ph.* 18f. in *J.Conf.* 13, *Ph.* 359f. in *Bis Acc.* 21, *Danae* fr. 7 in *Gall.* 14 and *Tim.* 41). Lucian's knowledge of Euripides does not seem to mainly originate in intermediary

[154] Cf. Householder (1941) 44, 59, Karanasiou (2002) 320f.
[155] Householder (1941) 41.
[156] Cf. Bompaire (1958) 621-630, 643f., Camerotto (1998) 29-36, 148-156, 277, 287f., 292-294, Karavas (2005) 139-160, 175-182, 230f., Helm (1906) 56, 136f., 298, 324f., 343, Jones (1986) 151. For overt expressions of Lucian's fondness of Euripides, cf. *Nec.* 1. 25-2. 1, *J. Tr.* 1. 20, *Pseud.* 32.

sources, such as florilegia and narrative hypotheses, which were popular in that era.[157] He obviously had access also to plays outside the 'selection', as emerges from the evidence for texts and performances of 'non-select' plays in his era;[158] in the case of the *Danae*, in particular, his allusion to the context of the situation of fr. 7 (i.e. the interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery, as alleged also in frr. 8-10) in *Tim.* 41 may well tell in favour of his direct knowledge of the play. His description of Danae's plea for her child's life to Acrisius in this *Marine Dialogue*, which recalls *Danae* fr. 13 (for the possible context, cf. opening note *ad loc.*), could point in the same direction.[159] It is thus conceivable that Lucian may have been inspired in this dialogue by the exodos of the *Danae*, where it could have been foretold that mother and child would be rescued— supposedly by the Nereids.[160] Even so, he cannot be regarded as reproducing Euripides faithfully, given his known literary creativity and the possibility that multiple sources could have been conflated in his account.

Hence, in terms of the thematic coincidence between the 'hypothesis' and *D. Mar.* 12, the latter might have found its point of departure in the Euripidean play. As regards the similarity in phrasing, the common stylistic elements are as follows: (1) καλλίστην οὖσαν,[161] (2) χρυσὸς γενόμενος, (3) ἐγκύμονα, (4) the asyndeta τοῦτο μαθών ('hyp.' *Danae*) and τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος (*D. Mar.* 12),[162] (5) εἰς κιβωτὸν ἐνέβαλε ('hyp.' *Danae*), ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν (*D. Mar.* 12), (6) κελεύει ῥίπτειν κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ('hyp.' *Danae*), ἐκέλευσεν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ναύτας . . . ἀφεῖναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν (*D. Mar.* 12), (7) ἐμβάλλουσι τὴν κιβωτὸν εἰς δίκτυα Σεριφίων ἁλιέων ('hyp.' *Danae*), τοῖς ἁλιεῦσι τούτοις ἐμβαλοῦσαι ἐς τὰ δίκτυα τοῖς Σεριφίοις (*D. Mar.* 12).[163] Of these, (2), (3 with ἔγκυον instead of the later ἐγκύμονα), (5), (6) and (7) could go back to the original narrative hypothesis, on which Lucian supposedly might have drawn, as suggested by Luppe.[164] However, the phrase καλλίστην οὖσαν in Lucian and 'hyp.' *Danae* (instead of the fixed phrase of mythographic hypotheses κάλλει

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[157] Lucian's use of intermediary sources is pointed out, though perhaps overstressed, by Anderson (1976) esp. 66f.
[158] Cf. General Introduction, n. 13 and 14 and note on T3.
[159] Cf. Huys (1995) 359.
[160] For this possibility, cf. Rein (1926) 115-129.
[161] Cf. Kannicht (1992) 33f., Rein (1926) 127, n. 1.
[162] Cf. Kannicht (1992) 33f.
[163] Cf. Rein (1926) 125, Zielinski (1925) 298.
[164] Luppe (1993) 66.

διαφέρουσαν[165]) and the asyndeton τοῦτο μαθών (completely alien from the style of the hypotheses, instead of the possible phrase μαθὼν δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα [166]), which resembles the asyndeton τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος of *D. Mar.* 12, cannot have derived from the original hypothesis.[167] It is rather improbable that Lucian had read 'hyp.' *Danae*, if we suppose that this is a synopsis of the original hypothesis, firstly because there is not even one case of an abridged narrative hypothesis from the bulk of the surviving papyrus-hypotheses, which date from the first to the third century AD. Secondly, hypotheses are rather unlikely to have become liable for abbreviation and modification before being prefixed to the corresponding dramatic texts [168] (the earliest case of prefatory material transmitted with the dramatic text is the metrical hypothesis, didascalia and *personarum index* of the *Dyscolus* in the Bodmer papyrus of Menander dated in late third century AD [169]). Furthermore, it would be very unusual for Lucian to imitate a source *verbatim* —not least a sub-literary source. Lucian is thus very unlikely to have drawn on 'hyp.' *Danae*, which leaves the opposite possibility (that is, Lucian's influence on the 'hypothesis') open to discussion.

A survey of the '*Danae*-prologue' (the spurious fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix), which follows the 'hypothesis' in Ms P, brings to light its relation to both 'hyp.' *Danae* and Lucian. Apart from their common transmission, the 'prologue' accords with the 'hypothesis' in terms of the oracle given to Acrisius (ll. 7-18), which is absent from *D. Mar.* 12, and Danae's seclusion *ἐν παρθενῶσι* (ll. 22-24) —a phrase found only in these two passages among the sources for the Danae-myth, which widely specify her prison as a bronze chamber. Certain linguistic similarities are also worth noting: 'prologue' l. 39: ἐγκατάκλειστον and 'hyp.' l. 3: κατάκλειστον[170] (cf. Luc. *Menipp.* 2. 23f. for the occurrence of *κατάκλειστον* with reference to Danae's prison), 'prologue' l. 39: μαθὼν πατήρ and 'hyp.' l. 8: τοῦτο μαθὼν Ἀκρίσιος. Moreover, 'hyp.' *Danae* as transmitted is clearly meant to be prefixed to the 'prologue', as emerges also from the '*index personarum*' attached to the 'hypothesis', where Hermes is mentioned as speaker of the prologue of the spurious fragment.

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[165] Cf. hypp. *Hipp.* (*P. Mil. Vogl.* 2. 44, col. i, l. 9f.), *Mel. S.* (*P. Oxy.* 2455, fr. 2. 3f.), *Auge* (*P. Köln* 264. 5f.) and Luppe (1991) 3.
[166] Cf. Luppe (1991) 4.
[167] So Kannicht (1992) 33f.
[168] Cf. Barrett (1965) 62f., who found it highly unlikely that full and abbreviated versions of narrative hypotheses were circulating side by side in the second century AD.
[169] Cf. Turner (1958) 9 and n. 1.
[170] Cf. Rein (1926) 126.

For the wide use of Lucian in [E.] fr. 1132 Kn., cf. Appendix, The Sources. Hence, the 'hypothesis' and the 'prologue' are obviously interrelated, while, at the same time, the 'prologue' draws on Lucian; since, as noted above, Lucian is very unlikely to have consulted 'hyp.' *Danae*, the reasonable inference is that the similarities between Lucian and the 'hypothesis' are due to Lucian's possible influence on the latter. Whether Lucian was inspired by Euripides' *Danae*, as Rein suggested,[171] is ultimately unprovable, though, apart from the points made above in favour of this possibility, the fact that the author of a composition aiming to imitate a Euripidean opening on the Danae-myth ([E.] fr. 1132 Kn.) chose to widely consult Lucian might also point in this direction.

On the whole, I can see the following possibilities as to the provenance, purpose and worth of 'hyp.' *Danae*:

(i) if West's suggestion is taken into account and the 'prologue' ([E.] fr. 1132 Kn.) was written as a supplement of the lost beginning of the *Danae*, its author would have presumably drawn on Lucian (cf. Appendix, The Sources), having also supposedly the original narrative hypothesis of the *Danae* at his disposal. Subsequently, according to Luppe,[172] he might have used Lucian to epitomize the hypothesis of the play to what survives today as 'hyp.' *Danae* and prefixed it to the text of the *Danae*, in accordance with the trend of adding prefatory material before dramatic texts. Such a possibility may account for the instances of common phrasing in 'hyp.' *Danae* and *D. Mar.* 12. Still, it raises two crucial questions: firstly, why would another text be employed to create a synopsis, instead of a direct reduction of the original? And secondly, why would a full hypothesis of the play be changed to an epitome, which is completely uninformative of the plot and refers to the myth in general [173] (the sole new piece of information is the reference to the Nereids, for which one may well argue that it could have derived from Lucian). By contrast, the above mentioned manuscript hyp. *Alcestis*, albeit a synopsis of the original papyrus-hypothesis, is informative of the peculiarities of the Euripidean plot.

(ii) The 'hypothesis' may have been written by the author of the 'prologue' as prefatory material to the text of the *Danae*, still in the light of West's argument that fr. 1132 Kn. was a specially composed supplement; this person was evidently learnt on Euripides and the myth of Danae and

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[171] Rein (1926) 115-129.

[172] Luppe (1993) 67.

[173] Cf. Kannicht (1992) 34 and Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58, observing that the 'hypothesis' simply reproduces the *vulgata*.

seems to have consulted Lucian to write his 'prologue', which would explain Lucian's echoes in the 'hypothesis', as well. It is also worth bearing in mind that the fixed stylistic features of the hypotheses observed by Luppe would be easily imitable for someone who had read a number of narrative hypotheses, not least for someone who could imitate a Euripidean opening. This likelihood could account for all the similarities between the 'hypothesis' and the 'prologue' and the former and Luc. *D. Mar.* 12.

(iii) If the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. was written as a rhetorical exercise, which may seem likelier than the argument for a specially composed supplement (for the shortcomings of the latter, cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness), then the present narrative may have been a school exercise as well, perhaps a *διήγημα* written by the same person, in view of the above mentioned similarities between the 'hypothesis' and the 'prologue'. Among the *Progymnasmata* of rhetorical schools, *διηγήματα* was a particular kind of exercise in composition, briefly retelling a mythological story often popular from epics or drama (cf. [Hermog.] *Prog.* 2. 12f., Quint. *Inst.* 2.4).[174] Purpose of this kind of composition was to introduce students to the technique of *narratio* of a judicial speech, by teaching them to write in clarity and briefly state the acting person and those involved, the action, place, manner and cause of events,[175] which are features also found in the narrative in question. A brief account of this type inspired by the myth of Danae occurs in Lib. *Prog.* 2. 41. Likewise, Lib. *Prog.* 2. 15, which is of comparable length with the present account, is a retelling of the story of Alcestis with no hint at a dramatic production (cf. on the other hand, the manuscript synopsis of hyp. *Alc.* already mentioned).[176] The author of the narrative in question, which shares the features of *διηγήματα* noted above and does not hint at a dramatic plot either, seems to have drawn material from Lucian, as emerges from the resemblance of style and theme between the two accounts.

It should be noted, however, that there are two cases, where the 'hypothesis' diverges from Lucian: firstly, the reference to the oracle included in the former account and missing from *D. Mar.* 12 and secondly, the timing of Acrisius' discovery of Danae's motherhood, which in the 'hypothesis' takes place explicitly after Perseus' birth, whereas in Lucian this is left unclear (and liable to be misinterpreted, as possibly in the 'prologue', cf. Appendix, The Sources). The author of the 'hypothesis' is thus likely to have additionally consulted other mythical sources;

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[174] Cf. Webb (2001) 294-299, Kennedy (1994) 202-204, Schouler (1984) I 69-79.
[175] Cf. Clark (1957) 183-186.
[176] For further examples of *διηγήματα*, cf. Ziebarth (1913) No 40, Beudel (1911) 58f.

considering that narrative hypotheses of dramatic plays and books of Homer seem to have been used for educational purposes (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 14E)[177] and for rhetorical exercises in particular,[178] it is conceivable that the author of the present narrative may have also used the mythographic hypothesis of the *Danae*, which would account for the stylistic similarities observed by Luppe. Nevertheless, in view of the loss of the original hypothesis and relevant evidence from the play (which might have confirmed, for instance, the intervention of the Nereids), what can only be diagnosed with probability is the relation of the transmitted account and of the 'prologue' with Lucian, whereas it cannot be firmly proved that Lucian goes back to Euripides. Even if the original hypothesis was consulted for the writing of this narrative, the author does not seem to have aimed to reproduce the Euripidean plot, which would justify the loss of dramatic information; this would suggest, in turn, that the present narrative cannot assist in the recovery of the peculiarities of the plot of the *Danae*.

An equally important question concerns the '*index personarum*' transmitted with the 'hypothesis'; it is worth noting that not even one surviving narrative hypothesis of Euripidean plays is followed by a catalogue of *dramatis personae*, therefore, this index is very unlikely to have belonged to the original hypothesis. A further shortcoming of the transmitted index is that for the main part of the plot —leaving aside Hermes as prologue-speaker and Athena as *dea ex machina*— only four dramatic characters are mentioned (Acrisius, Danae, nurse, messenger) plus the chorus. Such a short number of main characters is unparalleled [179] and raises serious doubts about the authenticity of the index. It thus seems quite likely that this list of *dramatis personae* was a later addition.

To assess the weight of the index, it may be worth exploring hypothetically the implications of West's assumption that the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. could have been a specially composed supplement of the lost opening of the *Danae* by someone who had volumes of an alphabetic collection of Euripides' plays, including the *Danae*, at his disposal;[180] the '*index personarum*' might have then been added by the author of fr. 1132 Kn., supposedly on the basis of the remaining text of the Euripidean

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[177] Cf. Marrou (1948) 229, van Rossum (1998) 73.

[178] Cf. for instance, *P. Vindob. G.* 19766 (hyp. *Autolycus I*, second century AD), *P. Mich.* inv. 1319 (hyp. *Temenidae*, third/ fourth century AD), *P. Oxy.* 420 (hyp. *El.*, third century AD) and van Rossum (1998) 15 and n. 39, also 31, Zuntz (1955) 141, n. 5, 142 and n. 1.

[179] In Euripides' extant plays the minimum number of dramatic characters excluding gods is six (cf. *Alcestis, Electra* and *Ion*).

[180] Cf. West (1981) 78, n. 49.

Danae. The possibility that more leaves of the volume containing the *Danae* might have been lost may account for characters which remained unknown to the author of the catalogue and thus for the shortness of the 'index'. Still, the inclusion of Hermes in the 'index' remains a problem: if the false prologue was composed as a substitute for the lost prologue of the play, how did the author of fr. 1132 Kn. know the identity of the prologue-speaker? Unless he knew the speaker from a source lost by now (e.g. by a lost argument of Aristophanes of Byzantium mentioning the name of the *προλογίζων*), it is reasonable to suppose that he may have invented him, perhaps based on Luc. *D. Deor.* 4. 2, on the god's mythographically attested involvement in Perseus' adventures (cf. *Dictys*, 1a. The Mythical Background) and also on Hermes' delivery of the prologue-speech in the *Ion* with reference to a similar situation (cf. Appendix, The Sources). Hermes is thus an uncertain prologue-speaker (and a rather unlikely one, cf. *Dramatis Personae* for the relevant discussion). Athena as *dea ex machina* could have been known to the author, presumably if he had access to either the exodos of the *Danae* or the original mythographic hypothesis of the play (these hypotheses regularly mention the *deus ex machina*, cf. hypp. *Hipp.*, *Andr.*, *Or.*, *Ba.*). Even if he had not, Athena would easily occur to someone for this role, owing to her involvement in Perseus' exploits (cf. *Dramatis Personae*) and again perhaps in view of her closing role in the *Ion*. A messenger is required to report the off-stage event of the exposure of the chest with Danae and Perseus (cf. *Dramatis Personae*). Danae and Acrisius are the obvious characters of the play and the nurse (the usual 'accomplice' in such plots) would be expected to have a role as well.

Overall, it should be noted that the catalogue of dramatic characters looks like a combination of learning and common sense—and not necessarily the outcome of one's direct access to the play. Hence, the characters mentioned may have well been inferred, even if the author of the index did not have the play available, that is, even if the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. was not meant to be a supplement, but rather an independent composition, such as a rhetorical exercise (cf. Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). The fact that the 'hypothesis', '*personarum index*' and 'prologue' have been added in Ms P by the hand of Ioannes Katrares may deserve attention; this rubricator: (i) has in several cases added prefatory material in Ms P (e.g. the *personarum index* of the *Electra* and the hypothesis of the *Helen*, which could be of his own composition [181]),

[181] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 139.

presumably since it was intended for the book-trade, which, in turn, required that every play in this manuscript was provided with this standard kind of material.[182] (ii) He has copied in Esc. Φ-II-19, f° 91^{v} another dramatic pastiche on a fictitious theme amounting to 35 lines and preceded by a list of dramatic characters with no obvious function, since what follows is only a monologue;[183] it may be assumed that Katrares prefixed this index of characters to the pastiche in the Escorialensis, on the basis of his familiarity with the arrangement of prefatory material in dramatic manuscripts (cf. also Appendix, Diagnosis of Spuriousness). In this light, it is conceivable that having the spurious fr. 1132 Kn. and the closely related narrative transmitted to us as 'hypothesis' (which may have been independent compositions, such as rhetorical exercises) at his disposal, Katrares might have: (a) entitled the present account as "Υπόθεσις', prefixing it to the relevant tragic pastiche of fr. 1132 Kn. and (b) invented and inserted a list of anticipated characters in a *Danae* play (fr. 1132 Kn. already provided Hermes as prologue-speaker and presented also Acrisius) to suit the arrangement of prefatory material in Ms P.

T6:

In this scene of the *Samia*, wealthy Demeas is trying to calm down his poor neighbour Niceratus, who has just found out that his unmarried daughter has born a child to the former's stepson. He thus compares the situation to Danae's impregnation by Zeus transformed into golden shower that dropped through the roof of her chamber, as told by tragic actors. This theme was treated by Sophocles in his *Acrisius* and *Danae* (cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy) and by Euripides in his own *Danae* and the reference to a tragic performance known to Demeas and Niceratus points to the revival of a tragedy about Danae in Menander's time.[184]

Demeas draws a parallel between the tragic example and the particular situation of the comic play; his use of the diminutive *χρυσίον*

[182] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 138, 141-143.
[183] Cf. De Andrés, Irigoin and Hörandner (1974) 205.
[184] Cf. Gomme and Sandbach (1973) 612, Bain (1983) 126.

(here 'money',[185] rather than an everyday word for 'gold') instead of *χρυσός*, in association with Niceratus' poverty, which is particularly stressed by means of his leaking roof,[186] implies that Niceratus would certainly benefit from his daughter's marriage to Demeas' rich son.[187] Frr. 7-10 of Euripides' *Danae* assert the power of gold and money over love and it thus seems quite likely that this is the tragic play, to which Demeas is alluding,[188] given also the notoriety and wide citation of fr. 7 (cf. opening note *ad loc.*), as well as the large number of fourth-century revivals of Euripidean plays.[189] Hence, Demeas is using his experience as tragic spectator to accredit his case, like Syriscus in *Epitr.* 325-333, who is referring to the story of Neleus and Pelias as performed on tragic stage,[190] and Onesimus in *Epitr.* 1123-1126, citing *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. as a piece of proverbial wisdom applying to the circumstances of the comic play.[191]

Fr. 1:

The first person plural (*ἡμεῖς*) identifying the speaker with female *dolos* clearly points to a female character. These lines present ruse as a feature of women *par excellence* and could hint at an intrigue set up by Danae to protect infant Perseus from his grandfather —presumably early in the play, before her motherhood is revealed— as frr. 2-4 seem to suggest (cf. notes *ad loc.* and Plot-Structure, p. 23). Moreover, plotting with such a purpose recurs in Euripidean plays thematically affiliated to the *Danae* (*Melanippe the Wise, Alope, Auge* and partly *Aeolus,* cf. Plot-Structure, p. 25f.). This fragment may thus be located in a deliberation-scene between Danae and her nurse (cf. *Andr.* 56-90 and the parallel scene probably between Auge and her nurse in *Auge* fr. 271b Kn.). The confidence of the statement

[185] For the ironic use of the word, cf. van Leeuwen (1919[3]) 237, Austin (1970) 92. Menander often uses the diminutive *χρυσίον* denoting 'money' (rather than 'gold'); cf. *Aspis* 239, *Dis Exapaton* 27, 52, 55, 60, 94, *Colax* 126.

[186] Cf. Blume (1974) 238, n. 106, Lamagna (1998) 593.

[187] Cf. Offermann (1978) 152f.

[188] Cf. Dedoussi (1965) 74, Reinhardt (1974) 168, n. 4.

[189] Cf. *IG* II[2] 2320 attesting that revivals only of Euripidean tragedies were produced for three successive years (341-339 BC). For the popularity of Euripides in the fourth century, cf. Xanthakis–Karamanos (1980) 28-34.

[190] *Tyro* plays were written by Sophocles, Astydamas and Carcinus II; the allusion here might involve one of the two Sophoclean *Tyro* plays, which were evidently more prominent.

[191] Cf. Hurst (1990) 106-113, Zagazi (1994) 55f., Webster (1960[2]) 155f.

pointing to the speaker's experience in intrigue might tell in favour of the nurse as speaker of these lines rather than Danae (cf. similarly *Hipp.* 480f., and for the nurse's skill in ruse, cf. also *Sthen.* fr. 661. 10-14 Kn.). Alternatively, these trimeters may have been the closing lines of the narrative prologue (perhaps likelier to have been delivered by the nurse rather than Danae, cf. *Dramatis Personae* and Plot-Structure, p. 22), following the reference to the stratagem to protect Perseus. For the closure of the opening monologue with a gnome, cf. *Alc.* 75f., *Med.* 48, *Supp.* 40f. (and Collard 1975_a, *ad loc.*), *HF* 57-59, *Tr.* 95-97, *Or.* 70.

1-2: Masculine and feminine attributes are presented by cross-arrangement; the framing function of the first and the last element (γυναιξί— ἄνδρες) illustrates gender differences (for the cyclic character of this figure, cf. Lausberg 1998, 322f.).

Men are born for fighting and outdoor activities; cf. X. *Oec.* 7. 23, *Med.* 248 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), 263f., A. *Ch.* 918, Ar. *Lys.* 626f. and Just (1989) 157, Dover (1974) 97, Garland (1990) 199f. The strict definition of roles, which imposed outdoor life for men and seclusion and domestic life for women, seems to account for the particular features of each gender; Euripidean drama tends to reflect on female insecurity and social impotence (for this matter, cf. especially note on fr. 5), which leads women to plotting as the sole means of subverting the dominant power of the superior male. The lines from *Hec.* 883-885 (cf. Gregory 1999, 150) are expressive of the same notion as our fragment: καὶ πῶς γυναιξὶν ἀρσένων ἔσται κράτος; / δεινὸν τὸ πλῆθος σὺν δόλωι τε δύσμαχον./ δεινόν· τὸ μέντοι θῆλυ μέμφομαι σθένος. For this idea, cf. Zeitlin (1990) 79-84, Murnaghan (2005) 238, Buxton (1982) 64, Just (1989) 196, Heath (1987) 160, Dover (1974) 100. Cf. also the vindictive plots of Medea (*Med.* 764ff.) and Creusa (*Ion* 985ff.), as well as the defensive stratagems of Iphigenia (*IT* 1031ff.), Helen (*Hel.* 1049ff.), Melanippe and Auge (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 25f.). For the frequent characterization of women as the resourceful sex, cf. *Med.* 407-409, *Hipp.* 480f., 670, *Andr.* 85 (and the notes of Lloyd 1994 and Stevens 1971, *ad loc.*), 911, *IT* 1032, *Ion* 843f. (and Lee 1997, 255), 985, *Hel.* 1621, *Ba.* 487, *Cressae* fr. 464 Kn., *Alope* fr. 108 Kn., *Auge* fr. 271a Kn., A. *Ag.* 1636, Ar. *Eccl.* 238, *Lys.* 12, *Th.* 290, 435 (and Ehrenberg 1943, 201-203).

1 ἦν γάρ: the imperfect of *εἰμί* is generally accompanied by *ἄρα* to denote that a common fact or truth has just been recognized (a colloquialism, cf. Stevens 1976, 62f., Denniston 1954^2, 36f. and note on

Dictys fr. 4. 4). This seems to be the idea here as well, since the speaker recognizes the authority of the proverb as applying in her own situation. In order to include *ἄρα* in the line, Meineke proposed *ἦν ἄρα τις αἶνος*, which is unsuitable on metrical grounds, as this particular resolution-type (first-foot dactyl in the form of – ' υυ) does not appear in Euripides' plays of 'severe style', among which the *Danae* has been classified (cf. Date); for this matter, cf. Cropp and Fick (1985) 29 and 35 (group 2.2aD), Devine and Stephens (1980) 67f., Ceadel (1941) 71f. A structure that occurs to me, in order to accommodate *ἄρα* into this line in accordance with metre and style, presupposes a transposition of words: *αἶνός τις ἆρ' ἦν, . . .* (apparently preferable to *ἦν ἄρ'* in this position of the trimeter; cf. Barrett 1964, 436 and for the word-order, *Hipp.* 1012, *Phoenix* fr. 810 Kn.). Nevertheless, *ἄρα* may not be indispensable; it is absent in *Ion* 184-189, where the imperfect of *εἰμί* is employed in the same sense (cf. Lee 1997, 179): οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθά-/ ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὐ-/ λαὶ θεῶν μόνον οὐδ' ἀγυι-/ άτιδες θεραπεῖαι. ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι/ τῶι Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-/ πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς. Hence, *γάρ* could be used in our line as confirmatory (cf. Denniston 1954², 58), following the speaker's possible reference to the stratagem. The occurrence of the second *γάρ* in l. 3 is not an obstacle, since the accumulation of *γάρ* is common in tragedy; cf. for instance, fr. 3, *El.* 368f., *IT* 1325, *Hel.* 1430, S. *Ai.* 20, 215, *OT* 317 and Denniston *loc. cit.* On balance, since the reading of the manuscripts can be accepted in terms of style and meaning, I would incline towards favouring the manuscript tradition.

αἶνος: here 'proverb'; cf. *Dictys* fr. 17.1, *Mel. S.* fr. 508 Kn.: παλαιὸς αἶνος, Moschion *TrGF* I 97 F8: ἦν ἆρα τρανὸς αἶνος ἀνθρώπων ὅδε, Theoc. 14. 43 (and Gow 1952, *ad loc.*): αἶνός θην λέγεταί τις, Call. fr. 178. 9 Pf. For references to proverbial wisdom, cf. also *Heracl.* 1 (and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), *Archelaus* fr. 262 Kn., *Bell.* fr. 285.1 Kn., *Sthen.* fr. 668 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), Pi. *N.* 9. 6: ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων, A. *Ag.* 264, 750f., S. *Tr.* 1 (and Davies 1991$_a$, 55f.): λόγος μὲν ἐστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς, Eriphus *Aeolus* fr. 1 K.-A., Cratin. *Deliades* fr. 28 K.-A., *Pylaea* fr. 182 K.-A. The exploitation of maxims is a rhetorical manner of establishing one's position by assuming an old-age authority; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1395A 10-12: χρῆσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ταῖς τεθρυλημέναις καὶ κοιναῖς γνώμαις, ἐὰν ὦσι χρήσιμοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι κοιναί, ὡς ὁμολογούντων πάντων, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν δοκοῦσιν.

The meaning of *αἶνος* as 'proverb' evidently derives from its sense as 'an allusive tale containing an ulterior purpose' (see Verdenius 1962, 389); cf. Hes. *Op.* 202-212 (and Puelma 1972, 87-109, Pucci 1977, 62-76), Archil. frr. 174, 185 W., Call. fr. 194 Pf. and for the range of its meanings, cf. Alden (2000) 30-37, Nagy (1979) 237-240. Related is the sense of 'riddle' ('to speak allegorically, in covert terms', as, for instance, in Hdt. 5. 56, S. *Ph.* 1380).

τέχναι: here clearly in the sense of 'intrigue', in combination with *δόλοισιν*; cf. similarly *Alc.* 34, *Med.* 322, *Hipp.* 670, 680, *IT* 24, 89, 1032, *Ion* 692, 1279, Ar. *Eq.* 63, *Th.* 430, *Pl.* 160.

2 λόγχῃ . . . εὐστοχώτεροι: 'more accurate with spear'; cf. *Ph.* 140: λόγχαις εὐστοχώτατοι. For *λόγχη* connoting *βία* (physical action) as opposed to *σοφία*, cf. *Or.* 710-713.

3-4: The speaker uses an adynaton to stress the gnome of ll. 1-2 more vividly; cf. Manzo (1988) 177, Canter (1930) 32f. and notes on *Dictys* frr. 2. 1-2 and 14. 3f. For views on the supremacy of mental over physical capabilities, cf. *Bell.* frr. 289-291 Kn., *Antiope* fr. 199 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 212f., S. *Ai.* 1250-1252.

3 δόλοισιν: a dative of location without preposition, following the usage of earlier poetry; a variety of nouns are liable to occur in locative dative, such as regions of the environment, humans in their physical and mental condition, as well as abstractions; cf. for instance, *IT* 524, *Ion* 988, S. *Tr.* 172, *OT* 20, 818, 1451, *El.* 174, *OC* 411. For this discussion, cf. Bers (1984) 86-99, esp. 97f., Kühner-Gerth (1904[3]) I 441f. and note on fr. 7.5.

τὸ νικητήριον: as a substantive it denotes 'the prize of victory'; cf. *Alc.* 1028, *Tr.* 963, S. *Salmoneus Satyricus* fr. 537 R., Ar. *Eq.* 1253, Eub. *Agkyliōn* fr. 3 K.-A., X. *Cyr.* 8. 3.33.

4 ἡμεῖς: the speaker, the addressee (if these lines come from a dialogue between women, e.g. a deliberation-scene, cf. opening note) and female sex in general.

τυραννίδα: 'absolute power'; the use of the adynaton with reference to female power over men entails the validity of the opposite notion, namely that it is the latter who exercise authority over women; this is the idea stressed in fr. 5 (cf. note *ad loc.*). For the range of connotations of *τύραννος*, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 5.

Fr. 2:

This fragment contains a priamel (cf. note on ll. 1-7) stressing the delight felt by someone yearning for a child (l. 6: πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις) at the sight of a newborn (l. 7). Likewise, fr. 3 is spoken by an evidently old man (cf. l. 1f.) asserting the pleasures of fatherhood, which he seems to present as his own situation, and fr. 4 comments on the significance of male children for the preservation of the *oikos* (fr. 5 accords with fr. 4). These lines have been assigned to Acrisius by previous editors and with good reason;[192] he is evidently an old man (cf. Luc. *D. Mar.* 12 describing him as *γέρων*), whose yearning for a male offspring is widely attested in mythography (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, especially Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1). Though we cannot absolutely dismiss the slight possibility that the play introduced another character, whose situation in some way resembled that of Acrisius, on present evidence it is difficult to imagine that this old man with the particular desire for a son could be someone other than Acrisius.

At the same time, in our effort to roughly reconstruct the context, we should bear in mind that Danae probably tried to protect her baby son from his grandfather, perhaps in view of the oracle saying that Acrisius would be killed by his grandson (cf. note on fr. 16) and also because of her illicit pregnancy (cf. Plot-Structure, for the similar efforts of Melanippe, Auge, Canace and Alope to protect their illegitimate offspring from their fathers). The reference to the newborn (l. 7) is far too specific to belong to the context of a general wish expressed by Acrisius [193] and seems to point to infant Perseus, while the *καὶ νῦν* in fr. 3. 1 hints at a particular fact, due to which the old man is praising parenthood and advising other men not to delay begetting children. Moreover, the idea expressed in frr. 2-5 is quite persistent, as nineteen lines would evidently be quite excessive for the expression of a general hope. The technique of priamel moving from the general to the specific also points to a particular situation. Acrisius' affection towards baby Perseus can only be explained if we assume that he is ignorant of its identity. It is thus feasible that the baby may have been introduced to him under false pretences, namely as coming from a mother other than Danae. The lines uttered possibly by Acrisius in fr. 3 and fr. 4 (which continues the discussion about offspring) seem to suggest that he has just begotten a male descendant. Hence, on the basis of the evidence examined so far, it is conceivable —if ultimately unprovable—that Perseus

[192] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59, *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*
[193] Pace Webster (1967, 95) and Aélion (1986, 154).

might have been presented to Acrisius as a solution to his lack of male offspring (namely as his own child or as an adopted one).[194] In Menander's *Samia* a baby is cunningly introduced to his grandfather as his own son; given Menander's trend to exploit Euripidean patterns by remodelling them to fit his own dramatic purposes,[195] if this situation in the *Samia* originated in the supposedly similar circumstances of Euripides' *Danae*, the allusion to the *Danae* in T6 might further point to the comic poet's hypothetical debt to the Euripidean pattern.[196]

The speaker (i.e. possibly Acrisius) is addressing a female character, as emerges from the vocative *γύναι*, which in tragedy denotes 'lady', 'wife', and also occurs as an address to nurses (in *Med.* 136, *Hipp.* 267, 656). Danae is unlikely to have been the addressee, as she is a maiden and would have probably been called *παῖ* (cf. *Heracl.* 484, *Hec.* 172, 194, 513, *Ph.* 154, S. *OC* 188, 322, 330), *τέκνον* (cf. *Heracl.* 539, 556, *Hec.* 172, 175, 180, *Tr.* 256, 345, 349, *Ph.* 139, 193, *IA* 638, 649, S. *Ant.* 855, *OC* 9, 81, 327, 845, 1102) or *θύγατερ* (cf. *Hec.* 334, 382, 415, 439, *Ph.* 1272, 1280, 1683, *IA* 665, 1117, S. *OC* 170, 225, 398). On the other hand, *γύναι* is a husband's most common address to his wife (cf. *Alc.* 386, *Hipp.* 827, 841, *HF* 530, *Hel.* 779, *IA* 725, S. *Ai.* 685, *OT* 700, 726, 755, 767, 800). Though the nurse cannot be completely excluded as addressee, Acrisius is much likelier to have expressed his personal feelings of delight to his wife, if she had a role in the play (cf. *Dramatis Personae*),[197] rather than the nurse.

1-7: A typical case of priamel, i.e. accumulation of parallel statements (*illustrantia*), which through contrast or comparison lead up to the idea with which the speaker is primarily concerned (*illustrandum*); cf. Fraenkel (1950) II 407, n. 3. In priamels it is amplification (αὔξησις) that dominates, by which the superiority (ὑπεροχή) of the *illustrandum* is highlighted; cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1368A 21-29 (and Cope-Sandys 1877, I 186).

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[194] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59f. and Hartung (1843-1844) I 88-90.

[195] Cf. for instance, his probable reception of the general situation of the *Auge* and of the arbitration-scene of the *Alope* in the *Epitrepontes* (for this scene, cf. *Epitr.* 218-375), of the messenger-speech of *Or.* 866-956 in *Sic.* 176-271, as well as of the situation of the *Alcmeon in Corinth* in the *Periceiromene*; cf. Handley (1970) 22f., Hunter (1985) 129f., 134f., Katsouris (1975) 29-54, 147-150, Karamanou (2005) 340-344, Porter (2000) 158f., Arnott (1968) 10f.

[196] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59f. Likewise, the quotation of *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. in *Epitr.* 1123-1126 may be Menander's acknowledgement of his debt to the Euripidean play, from which he seems to have borrowed the general situation; cf. Hunter (1985) 135f.

[197] Webster (1967, 95), Mette (1982, 109) and Kannicht (*TrGF* V,1 372) regard Acrisius' wife as addressee.

This is the case of a contrast priamel (for this type of priamel, cf. particularly Krischer 1974, 81-87 and Schmid 1964, 51-66). The contrast priamel in fr. inc. 1059. 1-4 Kn. follows the same structure (anaphora, connection of parallel examples with *μέν-δέ* and the use of *ἀλλά* to signal the climax, cf. Kurtz 1985, 167f.): δεινὴ μὲν ἀλκὴ κυμάτων θαλασσίων,/ δειναὶ δὲ ποταμῶν καὶ πυρὸς θερμοῦ πνοαί,/ δεινὸν δὲ πενία, δεινὰ δ' ἄλλα μυρία,/ ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν ὡς γυνὴ κακόν. Cf. also the contrast priamel in fr. 6 (and note *ad loc.*). Greek literature abounds in cases of priamel, the most typical of which are *Il.* 6. 450-455, *Od.* 11. 416-420, 24. 87-92, Hes. *Op.* 435f. (and West 1978, *ad loc.*), Sol. fr. 9 W., Sappho fr. 16. 1-4 L.-P. (and Tzamali, 131-133), Pi. *O.* 1. 1ff. (and Gerber 1982, 3-7), 3. 42-44, *N.* 7. 1-8 (and Carey 1981, 139), 8. 37-39, *I.* 1. 47-51 (and Privitera 1982, 150; for Pindar's technique of priamel, cf. particularly Dornseiff 1921, 98-102), Bacchyl. 3. 85 (and Maehler 1997, 56, Carey 1977-78, 69-71), A. *Ag.* 899-902 (and Fraenkel 1950, *ad loc*), *Ch.* 585ff. (and Garvie 1986, 202), *Hec.* 1181f., *Supp.* 267ff. (and Collard 1975_a, 178), *HF* 101-104, 860-863, *A.P.* 5. 169, 9. 363. Cf. also those cited by Johansen (1959) 34-49, Kröhling (1935) 32-34 and for a collection of examples, Race (1982) 31-113.

The present priamel focuses on the ideas of prosperity and beauty, as introduced by the *illustrantia* (sunlight, calmness of sea, *the locus amoenus*, cf. below), reaching its climax with the *illustrandum* (the radiance of a new-born child and the happiness it brings).

1 καλόν: van Herwerden's emendation of the transmitted reading *φίλον*, in view of the recurrence of *καλόν* in ll. 2, 4 and 5; a case of anaphora, which is frequently employed in priamels to highlight the amplification (cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4. 19 and for this type of anaphora, cf. Fehling 1969, 204): cf. fr. 6, *Hipp.* 530-532, *Ba.* 902-911 (and Dodds 1960^2_b, *ad loc.*), fr. inc. 1059. 1-4 Kn., *Il.* 9. 378-391, 13. 729-734, 14. 315-328, 394-401, Tyrtaeus fr. 12. 1-14 W., Alcman fr. 1. 64-77, S. *Tr.* 1058-1063 (and Davies 1991_a, 239f.). Professor C. Carey draws my attention to passages, such as *Alc.* 722: φίλον τὸ φέγγος τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλον, *Tr.* 1157: λυπρὸν θέαμα κοὐ φίλον λεύσσειν ἐμοί and *Andromeda* fr. 122. 20f. Kn.: οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀθανάταν φλόγα λεύσσειν/ ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ φίλον, ὡς ἐκρεμάσθην, by recollection of which the reading *φίλον* may have replaced *καλόν*. This is one of many instances in Greek literature of answers to the question what is *τὸ κάλλιστον* or *τὸ ἥδιστον*; from the bulk of examples cited by Fraenkel (1950, II 407f.), cf. especially Thgn. 255f., Bacch. *Epin.* 4. 18-20, *Heracl.* 892-896 (and Wilkins 1993, 170), Ar. *Pax* 1140, *Av.* 785.

φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε: *τόδε* implies that the speaker may be pointing to the sun. Sunlight tends to connote joy, brightness and prosperity, as in *Supp.* 650, 990 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *El.* 586 (and Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*), A. *Ag.* 1577, *Danaides* fr. 43 R., S. *Ant.* 100 (and Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*). Cf. Pi. fr. 52k Sn.-M., where the disappearance of the sun is taken to be a sign of danger. Sunlight is one of the *illustrantia* also in the priamel in Pi. *O.* 1.5. The reference to sunshine could also be related to the *locus amoenus* of l. 3 (for sunlight as a standard feature in this kind of imagery, cf. Thesleff 1981, 32).

2 πόντου χεῦμ': 'stream, flow'; cf. *Andromeda* fr. 124 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, *ad loc.*): ὑπέρ τε πόντου χεῦμα, *Hel.* 1304: ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμα, *El.* 152, *Ph.* 793, *IA* 166, A. *Supp.* 1028, *Prometheus Lyomenos* fr. 192 R.: ἱερὸν/ χεῦμα θαλάσσης. For nautical imagery in Euripides, cf. Lesky (1947) 226-230, 246-250, Barlow (1971) 97f., 118f. and Elliger (1975) 260-262.

ἰδεῖν: cf. its repetition in ll. 5 and 7. It occurs regularly in priamels which focus on what is *τὸ κάλλιστον* or *τὸ ἥδιστον* (cf. note on l. 1); cf. *Heracl.* 895f.: τερπνὸν δέ τι καὶ φίλων/ ἆρ' εὐτυχίαν ἰδέσθαι, A. *Ag.* 900: κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, Asclepiades *A.P.* 5. 169.1f.: ἡδὺ θέρους διψῶντι χιὼν ποτόν, ἡδὺ δὲ ναύταις / ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν Στέφανον, Lucr. 2. 1-7 and for more detail, Fraenkel (1950) II 408.

εὐήνεμον: 'serene, calm' (cf. *Andr.* 749, A. *Ag.* 740, S. *El.* 899, Theoc. 28. 5), as opposed to *κλύδων,* which would have indicated crisis. The phrase is apparently used in both literary (as part of the priamel) and metaphorical terms, connoting tranquillity and welfare. The opposite metaphor of a 'sea of troubles' is popular in poetry; cf. *Med.* 362, *Hipp.* 824, *Andr.* 748f., *Supp.* 824, *Tr.* 696, *Ion* 927 (and Lee 1997, 265), *Ph.* 859, also *Il.* 9. 4, 14. 16, Sol. fr. 13. 17-25 W., A. *Th.* 758-761, *Pers.* 433, *Ch.* 202, [A.] *Pr.* 1015, S. *Ant.* 586-590 (and Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*), *Tr.* 112-119, *OC* 1239 (and Kamerbeek 1984, 175) and van Nes (1963) 34-45.

3 γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα: the idea of growth presented here is very relevant to the context of birth; cf. fr. 15. 5: θάλλειν τε καὶ μή, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ, *Ba.* 1186f.: γένυν ὑπὸ κόρυθ' ἁπαλότριχα/ κατάκομον θάλλει, *IA* 1225: ζῶσάν τε καὶ θάλλουσαν, fr. inc. 898. 13 Kn.: δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῇ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος. Here, as traditionally, the *locus amoenus* is described as well-watered (cf. *πλούσιον ὕδωρ*); cf. similarly *Cyc.* 44-46, *Hipp.* 73-78, 209-211, *IA* 420-423, 1294-1299, also Hes. *Op.* 582-596, Sappho fr. 2. 5f. L.-P., Ibyc. S 286. 1-7 Davies, the long description of the land of Colonus in S. *OC* 671-691 (and McDevitt 1972,

230, 232-234), Ezechiel 248-253, Theoc. *Id.* 1. 1-3, 7f., 13. 40-43, Longus 2. 3, Ach. Tat. 1. 1.3- 1. 1.5. The imagery of this kind of landscape alludes to beauty and to a dream world of human pleasures. Cf. Thesleff (1981) 31-45 (and 31, n. 2 for relevant bibliography), Elliger (1975) 248-251, 259f., Parry (1957) 7-29, Nicolson (1951) 9-21. For further references to blooming land in Euripides, cf. *Hel.* 1485, *Ba.* 866f., *Temenidae* fr. 740 Kn., *Hypsipyle* fr. 754 Kn., also *h. Hom. Cer.* 401f., Pi. fr. 129 Sn.-M.

πλούσιόν θ' ὕδωρ: pace Meineke (who suggested *ποτάμιον ὕδωρ*) and Kurtz (1985, 166), I can see no particular reason why the reading *πλούσιον* may need emendation: it occurs here in the sense of 'ample, abundant' (*LSJ*[9]), as in A.R. fr. 2 Powell: πλουσίου Νείλου, cf. also *Hel.* 295f.: πρὸς πλουσίαν/ τράπεζαν ἵζουσ', *Tr.* 1249: πλουσίων κτερισμάτων, *Or.* 394: ὁ δαίμων δ' ἐς ἐμὲ πλούσιος κακῶν. Water in abundance is a blessing, considering its life-sustaining qualities, and fits the context of fertility and family growth; cf. *Hipp.* 121-128, *Archelaus* fr. 228. 2 Kn.: κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ, also *Il.* 14. 246, Pi. *O.* 11. 2f., Hdt. 7. 16, Pl. *Euthyd.* 304B 3f., schol. vet. Pi. *O.* 1. 1d-1e (Drachmann) and Rudhardt (1971) 117. Owing to its vital role, water occurs often among *illustrantia* in priamels; cf. Pi. *O.* 1. 1 (and Instone 1996, *ad loc.*), 3. 42, Bacchyl. 3. 85ff.

5 ἀλλ': the use of *ἀλλά* in priamels serves to dismiss the foil and signal the climax; cf. for instance, Pi. *I.* 1. 1-13 (and Bundy 1962, I 22, n. 50, II 36 and n. 3), S. *Tr.* 503 (and Davies 1991$_a$, *ad loc.*), E. fr. inc. 1059 Kn. and Race (1982) 14, n. 39.

λαμπρόν: literally 'bright, radiant' and metaphorically 'joyous, splendid'. Here, it is used both literally, alluding to *φέγγος ἡλίου* (l. 1), and metaphorically, with reference to the *illustrandum*, i.e. the splendid sight of the newborn (l. 7). Cf. similarly, Ar. *Pl.* 144: εἴ τί γ' ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλὸν, also *Supp.* 608, Pi. *P.* 8. 97, A. *Ch.* 810, S. *El.* 1130, *OT* 81.

6 ἄπαισι: For the significance of having children, cf. note on fr. 4. 3-4 (for male children) and on *Dictys* fr. 2. 6.

πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις: 'bitten by yearning (for children)'. Cf. [E.] *Rh.* 596: λύπηι καρδίαν δεδηγμένοι, Lyc. 954: συμφοραῖς δεδηγμένος, also *Heracl.* 483, *Hipp.* 1314, *El.* 242, *HF* 94, *IA* 385, A. *Pers.* 846, S. *Ai.* 1119, *Ph.* 1358, Ar. *Ach.* 1. The same idea occurs in *Med.* 714f.: ἔρως παίδων, *Ion* 67: ἔρωτι παίδων, 1227: παίδων εἰς ἔρον, *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 21 Kn.: τέκνων ἔρωτι.

7 παίδων νεογνῶν . . . φάος: I agree with Johansen (1959, 42f., n. 81) and Prof. Kannicht (*TrGF* V,1 372) that the reading of the manuscript

tradition should be kept, primarily because light is frequently used as metaphor for a long-desired and precious person (and in more general terms, for deliverance and happiness); apart from *HF* 531: ὦ φάος μολὼν πατρί and *Ion* 1439 (cf. Lee 1997, *ad loc.*): ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρεῖσσον ἡλίου, which are cited by Kannicht *ad loc.*, I would note *IT* 848f. (with reference to Orestes): μοι συνομαίμονα τόνδε δόμοις/ ἐξεθρέψω φάος, A. *Ch.* 131: φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην φῶς ἄναψον ἐν δόμοις, S. *El.* 1224 (addressed to Orestes): ὦ φίλτατον φῶς and earlier, in *Od.* 16. 23: ἦλθες, Τηλέμαχε, γλυκερὸν φάος. Cf. also Lossau (1994) 89-92. Moreover, the reference to the *φάος* of the newborn corresponds with the *φέγγος* of the sun in l. 1; this is the case of an effective ring-composition based on imagery of light.

Fr. 3:

The speaker of these lines is evidently an old man (cf. l. 1: πᾶσι τοῖς νεωτέροις, l. 2: πρὸς τὸ γῆρας, l. 4: πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ), who is praising fatherhood. So far as our evidence goes, it is difficult to suppose that this old man could be someone other than Acrisius (for his old age, cf. also Luc. *D. Mar.* 12).[198] The phrase *καὶ νῦν* seems to refer to a particular event, which leads Acrisius to praise fatherhood and, more precisely, the merits of begetting a male offspring, since he already has a daughter (for the superiority of a male child, cf. fr. 4; for the close relationship of fathers with their sons, cf. l. 6 of the present fragment: συννεάζων ἡδὺ παῖς νέῳ πατρί and for Acrisius' desire for a son, cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1). As very tentatively observed in the introductory note on fr. 2, Acrisius might be regarding baby Perseus as the solution to his lack of a male descendant, in ignorance of its true identity.[199]

The king's reference to marriage at an old age in the present fragment (l. 2 and the parenthesis in l. 3f.) need not reflect his own situation (though if it does, it would bear implications as to whether his wife in the play—and presumably the addressee of fr. 2— is Eurydice, Danae's mother, or he has re-married or has a *pallakē*, like Amyntor in the *Phoenix*); it appears more like an incidental detail, to judge also from the parenthesis, which serves as clarification in passing. Moreover, it is worth

[198] Cf. *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*
[199] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59f.

bearing in mind that Euripidean rhetoric often moves beyond the limits of the immediate situation; cf. *Med.* 230-251 (and Page 1938, 89, Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), where Medea identifies herself with the chorus as to the nature of female misfortune, though not all the examples, which she gives, apply to her own situation. Cf. on a larger scale, the generalizing discourses in *Hipp.* 375-387 (and Barrett 1964, 275, Schadewaldt 1966, 119, 122f.), *Hec.* 592-602 and Conacher (1981) 9-17, 22-25. Likewise, our speaker may be pointing out the general fact that having children (which is his preoccupation) at an old age usually results from getting married late, thus referring to a norm, in order to substantiate his position.

2 τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους: Nauck suggested *ἀναβολὰς ποιουμένους* based on Men. *Thesaurus* fr. 176. 8 K.-A.: οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀναβολὰς ποιούμενοι. His conjecture is consistent with metre, as resolutions of the third *longum* are common in Euripides' early plays (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, 29f., Devine and Stephens 1980, 66, Ceadel 1941, 72f.). Nevertheless, there is no compelling reason why the manuscript reading should be questioned. Moreover, the word *ἀναβολάς* creates tautology with *σχολῇ* (l. 3: 'tardily'), while *μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους* is clearly explained by the parenthesis in l. 3f. (why one should not get married at an old age: οὐ γὰρ ἡδονή,/ γυναικί τ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ), which looked redundant with Nauck's conjecture.

4 γυναικί τ' ἐχθρὸν χρῆμα πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ: Jouan and van Looy deleted this line, as it seemed redundant in the light of Nauck's conjecture in l. 2 (cf. note *ad loc.*). As argued above, however, the parenthesis (in ll. 3-4) aptly serves to explain the shortcomings of marriage at an old age (l. 2: *μὴ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τοὺς γάμους ποιουμένους*) and should thus be preserved. The same idea occurs in *Phoenix* fr. 807 Kn.: πικρὸν νέᾳ γυναικὶ πρεσβύτης ἀνήρ, fr. 804 Kn., *Aeolus* fr. 23 Kn.: ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ γῆρας τὴν Κύπριν χαίρειν ἐᾷ,/ ἥ τ' Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέρουσιν ἄχθεται. Cf. also Thgn. 457-460: οὔ τοι σύμφορόν ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι·/ οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίοισι πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,/ οὐδ' ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμά/ πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα (parodied in Theophilus' *Neoptolemus* fr. 6 K.-A.).

Old age entails physical debilitation and disfigurement; in Greek consciousness to become old was to become ugly and physically undesirable. Traditional epithets for old age occur as early as Homer: cf. *στυγερόν* ('hateful', *Il.* 19. 316), *λυγρόν* ('miserable', *Il.* 10. 79, 18. 434, 23. 644), *χαλεπόν* ('harsh', *Il.* 8. 103, 23. 623, *Od.* 11. 196). In Hes. *Th.* 211-225 Γῆρας, the personification of old age, is mentioned in the same

context with other antisocial monstrosities. As in the present case, distress over aging tends to acquire an erotic focus; cf. for instance, *h. Hom. Ven.* 218-238, Mimn. frr. 1, 4, 5 W., Sappho fr. 58 L.-P., Thgn. 1131, Crates fr. inc. 18 K.-A., *A.P.* 11. 51. Cf. on the other hand, the comic chorus of elders in Ar. *V.* 1077, 1090 asserting their manliness (and Hubbard 1989, 100, 104f.). Cf. also Bertman (1989) 159-169 and Garland (1990) 252f.

5 ἐκτροφαί: 'upbringing'; mostly from fourth-century literature onwards (cf. Arist. *De Mundo* 399A 28, *HA* 542A 30, Men. *Phasma* 85, Plut. *Mor.* 496E 10). The verb *ἐκτρέφω*, however, occurs earlier; cf. *Supp.* 1222, Hdt. 1. 122, A. *Ch.* 759, S. *El.* 13, *OT* 827, Ar. *Nu.* 796.

6 συννεάζων: 'to be young with another' (*LSJ*[9]). This is the sole occurrence of the verb in its compound form with *σύν* before the fourth century AD (cf. Philostr. *VS* 2. 21.2, Alciphr. *Ep.* 4. 18.3); in its simple form it occurs in *Ph.* 713, 1619, also A. *Supp.* 105, *Ag.* 764, S. *Tr.* 144, *OC* 374. For the idea expressed in this line, cf. particularly Men. fr. inc. 831 K.-A.: ὡς ἡδὺ πρᾶος καὶ νεάζων τῷ τρόπῳ/ πατήρ. In Menander, however, the focalizer is the son, while in Euripides it is the father, which reflects the emphasis throughout the fragment on the parent's benefits and joy. *Ἡδύ* nicely balances *ἡδονή* in l. 3; pleasure is to have children while being still young. For the opposite idea, cf. fr. inc. 1007f Kn.: σμικροὶ γέροντι παῖδες ἡδίους πατρί. Fr. inc. 1007 e+f were assumed to belong to the *Danae* by Goossens (1941, 109f.) as a counter-argument to the present fragment in a hypothetical debate; however, the lack of evidence for this matter cannot substantiate this suggestion.

Fr. 4:

These lines asserting the significance of a male offspring for one's *oikos* seem to be related to fr. 2 (praising parenthood) and fr. 3 (expressive of the same idea, presumably with reference to the birth of a son). They could have thus been uttered in the same context by the same person, i.e. Acrisius,[200] who might be regarding baby Perseus as a solution to his lack of a male heir, while being ignorant of its true identity (cf. opening notes on frr. 2 and 3). This passage offers an interesting insight into Euripides'

[200] Cf. Kannicht, *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58, 60 and Hartung (1843-1844) I 90.

rhetorical ability to approach the same issue from different perspectives depending on the situation, in which his characters find themselves;[201] while in Medea's monologue (*Med.* 230-251, cf. similarly Procne's rhesis in S. *Tereus* fr. 583 R.) the maiden's transition from her natal to the marital *oikos* is described as a traumatic experience from the female perspective, the same process is viewed here from the male point of view in pragmatic rather than emotional terms. As regards l. 1f., Dr Lowe interestingly draws my attention to the possibility that Acrisius' remark may also originate in his reluctance to see his daughter married, in view of the oracle. Sadly, the evidence for the function of the oracle in Euripides' play is scanty (cf. note on fr. 16).

1 γυνὴ γάρ: this reading is transmitted in Stob. 4. 22g. 148, whereas Stob. 4. 24c. 34 reads *γυνὴ μέν*. Though the latter is wholly acceptable in terms of syntax, it renders the passage more self-contained and thus more suitable for anthologies, unlike *γάρ*, which tends to be replaced in anthology excerpts, where possible, in view of its links with the context of the passage; cf. West (1973, 18) citing two excerpts from Solon (frr. 6.3, 15.1 W.) in Thgn. 1. 153, 315, where *τοι* has substituted *γάρ*, in order to make the quotations self-contained. Hence, on the basis of the principle *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*, *γάρ* seems likelier to be the original reading of the present fragment, introducing the speaker's explanation of his preference of male to female offspring.

2 οὐ τῶν τεκόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέχους: a maiden's *kyrios* (i.e. the man responsible for her legal representation and her general welfare) was her father until she was given to marriage, from which point onwards she would be under the tutelage of her husband (cf. Is. iii 2.3, where the husband acts as his wife's *kyrios*, and MacDowell 1978, 84f., Erdmann 1934, 267-276, Omitowoju 2002, 117-122, Foley 1981, 129f.). Nevertheless, it seems that in certain cases a girl's bonds with her native family were not completely cut off; according to the law of the *epiclērate* (established by Solon, cf. Plut. *Sol.* 20. 2-3), in the absence of a male heir one's *oikos* could be perpetuated through a daughter, the 'epiclēros', who even if already married, could be claimed in marriage by her father's nearest relative, in order to produce a son, who would become the *kyrios* of her father's *oikos* (cf. Is. iii 64, x 19 and Harrison 1968, II 132-138, Todd 1993, 230f., Cox 1998, 94-99). In addition, the father had the moral authority to dissolve his daughter's marriage (it remains unclear whether his authority was also legally established; cf. D. xli 4, Men. *Epitr.* 655-

[201] Cf. Dale (1969) 149, 152f.

724, *P. Didot* fr. adesp. 1000 K.-A. and Scafuro 1997, 307-309, Harrison 1968, II 30-32, Just 1989, 74f.). The ending of a marriage would entail return of the woman's dowry, which according to the *engyē* does not belong to the husband, but its purpose is to procure for her sons a share in the estate of their maternal family (cf. Wolff 1944, 48-50, 61f. and Foxhall 1989, 37f.).

On the basis of our evidence, the ambiguous position of women between their natal and marital *oikos* seems to have been an issue in classical Athens and is a recurring theme in Euripidean drama; Euadne (*Supp.* 1034-1071), Laodameia (in *Protesilaus*, as attested in Hyg. *fabb.* 103, 104, schol. Eust. *Il.* 2. 701 van der Valk, [Apollod.] *Ep.* 3. 30) and possibly Alphesiboea (if the plot of the *Alcmeon in Psophis* is reflected in [Apollod.] 3. 7.5f.) clash with their natal families for their husbands' sake Cf. also Men. *Epitr.* 714-724, fr. adesp. 1000 K.-A. and Seaford (1990_a) 151-156, 165f., Foley (2001) 67f., 71f., 84, Murnaghan (2005) 240f., Blundell (1995) 118f. On the other hand, Procne's above mentioned speech in S. *Tereus* fr. 583. 6-12 R. is expressive of the maiden's sorrow at her departure from the paternal household: ὅταν δ' ἐς ἥβην ἐξικώμεθ' ἔμφρονες,/ ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα/ θεῶν πατρώων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο,/ αἱ μὲν ξένους πρὸς ἄνδρας, αἱ δὲ βαρβάρους,/ αἱ δ' εἰς ἀγηθῆ δώμαθ', αἱ δ' ἐπίρροθα./ καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὰν εὐφρόνη ζεύξῃ μία,/ χρεὼν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν. Cf. *Med.* 232-245, *Andr.* 147-153 (on Hermione's attachment to her father's *oikos* rather than her husband's), S. *Tr.* 141-152.

3-4: A male offspring ensures the perpetuation of his father's *oikos* by inheriting the paternal estate and undertaking the task of keeping the domestic cult and tending the family graves (cf. note *ad loc.*). According to a law introduced by Solon, a man without any sons could make a will disposing of his property to an adopted heir (Is. ii 10, 13, 46f., cf. Rubinstein 1993, 68-76, pointing out that the need to perpetuate the *oikos* and its cults was evidently the driving force in adoption, also Harrison 1968, II 82-96 and Garland 1998, 66). Cf. *IT* 57: στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες, 697f., 984f., *IA* 1394 (and Stockert 1992, 589), A. *Ag.* 896-898 (and Fraenkel 1950, *ad loc.*): λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε, τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,/ σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης/ στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί, Ar. *Th.* 502-516 (a man's yearning for a son, cf. Blundell 1998, 41-44), 564f., *Eccl.* 549, also *Od.* 11. 538-540, 24. 514f. (a father's pride in his son, cf. Strauss 1993, 73-75). Female offspring, on the other hand, were unwelcome (cf. Men. *Dysc.* 19-21, *Alieis* fr. 22 K.-A., *Anepsioi* fr. 58 K.-A., Diphilus fr. inc. 134 K.-A.) and

often exposed (cf. Posidippus *Hermaphroditus* fr. 11 K.-A., *P.Oxy.* iv 744 and Golden 1990, 94f., Cantarella 1987, 43f.). Accordingly, affection for daughters is less frequently expressed; cf. *Supp.* 1101-1103, S. *OT* 1474, 1522, *OC* 1108-1122.

The strictly patrilinear type of succession, to which the speaker refers, was a typical feature of marriage-law in fifth-century Athens. In Heroic Greece, however, to which Danae's legend belongs, the matrilinear pattern of succession (i.e. transmission of inheritance and kingship through the female line by marriage to the king's daughter) seems to have been quite common (cf. particularly Finkelberg 1991, 304-316, Leduc 1991, 274-280 and for the occurrence of both patterns in Homer, cf. Finley 1955, 172, Pomeroy 1975, 19f.). Oblique anachronistic references mainly in terms of culture, politics and technical achievements are occasionally found in tragedy; cf. for instance, the allusion to the Athenian democratic institutions in A. *Supp.* 601, 604, 942f. and E. *Supp.* 404-408 and Easterling (1985) 2-10, Lowe (1988) 41f., Walcot (1976) 95-102. Cf. also note on fr. 9. 4.

3 τὸ δ' ἄρσεν . . . γένος: a case of enjambment, in which the postponed second element seems to be rather unemphatic as an easily anticipated specification. Cf. the survey of Devine and Stephens (2000) 88-140 and Mastronarde (2002) 95.

4 θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ τάφων: succession from father to son involved not only material inheritance, but also the primary duty of preserving the *sacra* of the house, that is, domestic religion and the observances in honour of the dead ancestors (ἀγχιστεία ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων); cf. Is. ii 46, iv 19, vi 47, D. xxxix 35, xliii 51, 65 and Harrison (1968) I 123, 130 and n. 2 and 3. For the significance of performing the rites in honour of the ancestors, cf. *Alc.* 1003, 1015, *Tr.* 1180-1184, *Hel.* 1163-1168, also A. *Ch.* 122-135, S. *Ant.* 451, Pl. *Lg.* 717E, 927B, [D.] xliii 79, 84, D. xxiv 107, lvii 28, 40, Lycurg. i 59, 147, [Lys.] ii 75, Aeschin. i 13, Is. vii 30, viii 17f., X. *Mem.* 2. 2.13, Plut. *Sol.* 21 and Humphreys (1983^2) 87f., Fustel de Coulanges (1980) 13-17, 27f., 32-34, Dover (1974) 245.

As regards domestic gods, in particular, the necessity of preserving their cult is regularly stressed; cf. *Heracl.* 877 (and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 604, *h. Hom. Ven.* 29f., A. *Th.* 582, 640, 914, 1010, 1018, *Pers.* 404f., *Supp.* 704, S. *El.* 67, 411, 1135, *Ant.* 199, 659, 839, 938 (and Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 933, Ar. *Ach.* 1527, *V.* 388 (and Sommerstein 1983, *ad loc.*), [D.] vii 17, Aeschin. ii 152, Lycurg. i 25, X. *Hell.* 2. 4.21. The scrutiny of candidates for higher magistracies in Athens as to whether they

have in their households altars of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος and Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος and where their family-tombs are (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55. 2-3) indicates that these criteria served as proof of Athenian citizenship (cf. D. lvii 66 and Sjövall 1931, 30f., 35). *Zeus Herkeios* was regarded as protecting blood-ties and the authority of the head of the household as early as Homer (cf. *Il.* 11. 771-775, *Od.* 22. 335, Hdt. 6. 68, S. *Ant.* 487 and Jebb 1900^3_a, 96, Griffith 1999, 350, E. *Tr.* 17, schol. Pl. *Euthyd.* 302D Greene, Harpocration s.v. *ἕρκειος Ζεύς* p. 134 Dindorff and Nilsson 1940, 66f., Burkert 1985, 255, Vernant 1980, 97). In Pherecydes' account of the legend (fr. 10 Fowler, cf. 1a. The Mythical Background), it is at the altar of *Zeus Herkeios*, where Acrisius adjures Danae to reveal who seduced her, appealing to their kinship and to his own authority over her as head of the household. The domestic cult of *Apollo Patrōos* became public in Athens towards the end of the fifth century and was closely associated with the organization of phratries in the fourth century (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 2 and Hedrick 1988, 185-210, Nilsson 1967^3, I 556f., Farnell 1896-1909, IV 154, 373, n. 54).

Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth, was the least anthropomorphic of all household deities and details of her cult are scanty; cf. Hes. *Op.* 733f., 748f., *h. Hom. Ven.* 29f., *Alc.* 162, *HF* 599 (and Bond 1981, *ad loc.*) and Rose (1957) 104f. She was the first to honour in libations (*h. Hom. Vest.* 4-6, *Pha.* fr. 781.35 Kn. and Diggle 1970, 161, S. *Chryses* fr. 726 R.). The figure of *Zeus Patrōos* represented paternal authority and filial obligation towards parents (cf. *El.* 671, Ar. *Nu.* 1468-1470 and Sommerstein 1982, 230f., Pl. *Lg.* 9. 881B), though there is no archaeological evidence for his cult in Athens (cf. De Schutter 1987, 121, n. 105, Sjövall 1931, 50-52). A widespread domestic cult was also that of *Zeus Ktēsios* 'the god of the store-room', who ensured the prosperity and imperishability of the household (cf. A. *Supp.* 442-445 and Johansen-Whittle 1980, 352, *Ag.* 1038 and Denniston-Page 1957, *ad loc.*, Is. viii 16, Men. *Pseuderacles* fr. 410 K.-A., Sud. s.v. *Ζεὺς Κτήσιος* ζ 40 Adler and Rose 1957, 100-103, Sjövall 1931, 53-58, Farnell 1896-1909, I 55f.). His symbol was a jar containing ambrosia, into which things found by chance were to be put (cf. Ath. 473 B-C). On other domestic cults of Zeus, such as *Meilichios* and *Philios*, cf. Sjövall (1931) 75-116.

τιμάορον: doric form, here in the sense of 'one who pays honour to s.o./ sth.' (cf. Pi. *O.* 9. 84) and 'protector, succourer' (cf. A. *Supp.* 42, *Ag.* 514). It also denotes 'avenger' (cf. A. *Ag.* 1280, 1324, 1578, *Ch.* 143) and widely occurs in its contract attic form τιμωρός (cf. *Hec.* 790, 843, *El.* 676, S. *El.* 14, 811, Hdt. 2. 141, 4. 200, Th. 4. 2.3, Pl. *Lg.* 716A, 872A). In

late epic it is found as τιμήορος; cf. Nonn. *D.* 2. 567, 8. 70, 26. 80, 30. 207 and *EM* s.v. τιμήοροι (τ 759 Gaisford): ἥρωες καὶ ἔφοροι.

Fr. 5:

These lines are spoken by a female character (cf. *γυναῖκες* and the first person plural) asserting the disadvantaged position of women and seem to stand in agreement with the remark made in fr. 4 (possibly spoken by Acrisius, cf. introductory note *ad loc.*), which is stressing the significance of having a son rather than a daughter for the preservation of one's *oikos*. The reference to female deficiency without men (cf. especially *δίχα*), in particular, may allude also to the fact that women are under male tutelage throughout their lives, which could further connect this distich to the idea expressed in fr. 4. 1-2.

The present distich could have been spoken by the female chorus-leader (for the gender of the chorus, cf. T1),[202] in view of its clearly consenting tone (cf. *Alc.* 369f., *Med.* 906f., *Hipp.* 431f., *HF* 583f., 1311f., *Hel.* 1030f., *IA* 469f., 504f., 917f.), which is stressed by the use of *συμμαρτυρῶ* and the pleonasm *παντα̂χοῦ- πα̂σαι- ἀεί*. Another candidate may be the addressee of fr. 4 (which is thematically relevant to frr. 2 and 3 and if they all belonged to the same context, Acrisius' interlocutor may have been his wife, cf. introductory note on fr. 2).[203] In such a case, the sweeping acceptance of female inferiority might be disingenuous, with the purpose of manipulating Acrisius, if we take into account the possible stratagem implied in fr. 1. The pleonasm *παντα̂χοῦ- πα̂σαι- ἀεί* could thus be very effective. Cf. Medea and Clytaemestra outmaneuvering Jason (*Med.* 869-905 and Mastronarde 2002, 312f., Foley 2001, 258f., 261-266) and Agamemnon (A. *Ag.* 861-905) respectively, by appealing to their female weakness. The possibility that these lines were uttered in the context of a deliberation-scene perhaps between Danae and her nurse, in which case fr. 1 might have followed our fragment as a contrasting reference to female intellect,[204] may seem less likely in view of the occurrence of *δίχα*; the speaker does not just allege that 'we women are inferior to men', which could be a preparation for the reference to

[202] Cf. Kannicht *TrGF* V,1 374.
[203] So Webster (1967) 95, Aélion (1986) 154 and n. 11.
[204] So Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59, Mette (1982) 109 and earlier Hartung (1843-1844) I 88.

female *dolos* as the sole means of subverting male power, but that 'we women are deficient without men', that is, 'we need men'.

The same notion occurs in *Supp.* 40f.: πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀρσένων/ γυναιξὶ πράσσειν εἰκὸς αἴτινες σοφαί, A. *Ag.* 861f. (part of Clytaemestra's above mentioned intrigue): τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσενος δίχα/ ἧσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἔκπαγλον κακόν, and on female inferiority in general, cf. *Med.* 230-251, esp. 230f.: πάντων δ' ὅσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα καὶ γνώμην ἔχει/ γυναῖκές ἐσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν and its echoes in Theodectes' *Alcmeon TrGF* I 72 fr. 1a Sn. (cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 151), *Ino* fr. 401 Kn.: φεῦ,/ ὅσῳ τὸ θῆλυ δυστυχέστερον γένος/ πέφυκεν ἀνδρῶν· ἔν τε τοῖσι γὰρ καλοῖς/ πολλῷ λέλειπται κἀπὶ τοῖς αἰσχροῖς πλέον, S. *Tereus* fr. 583. 1-3 R.: πολλάκις/ ἔβλεψα ταύτῃ τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν,/ ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν. For Euripides' preoccupation with this matter, cf. Vellacott (1975) 95-99, 125f.

The deficiency of women in fifth-century Athens emerges from their being under legal tutelage, first under the control of their fathers, then their husbands (cf. note on fr. 4. 1-2), their limited rights to education and their withdrawal at home, in a private sphere of activities, as opposed to the public field of male participation (cf. note on fr. 1. 1-2), where it would be improper for a woman to be seen; cf. *Andr.* 876-878 (and Lloyd 1994, *ad loc.*), *Hec.* 974f., *HF* 527 (and Bond 1981, *ad loc.*), *El.* 343f. (and Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*), *Tr.* 648f. (and Biehl 1989, 268), *IA* 821-834, 1029-1032, *Meleagros* fr. 521 Kn., also A. *Th.* 232 (and Hutchinson 1985, *ad loc.*), Ar. *Th.* 397-417, Lys. i 8 (and Carey 1989, *ad loc.*), Lycurg. i 40, [D.] lix 122, Is. iii 14, Hyp. i 5f. (and Just 1989, 124f.), X. *Oec.* 7. 30: τῇ μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ θυραυλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ αἴσχιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ τῶν ἔξω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Men. fr. inc. 815 K.-A., Theophr. *Char.* 28, Plut. *Mor.* 242E and Blundell (1998) 59-75, Cohen (1996) 140, 142, Foley (1981) 148-152, Blundell (1995) 113f., 132-138, Des Bouvrie (1990) 54, Cantarella (1987) 46, 51. For the seclusion of maidens in particular, cf. note on fr. 6. 2.

1 συμμαρτυρῶ: 'to bear witness with/ in support of s.o.', cf. *Hipp.* 286: καὶ σύ μοι ξυμμαρτυρῆις, *Hec.* 1080, *Hel.* 1080, *IA* 1158, S. *El.* 1224: ὦ φίλτατον φῶς. - φίλτατον, συμμαρτυρῶ, *Ph.* 438: ξυμμαρτυρῶ σοι, Pl. *Hp. Ma.* 282B: συμμαρτυρῆσαι δέ σοι ἔχω ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγεις, *Lg.* 680D, Sol. fr. 36. 3 W., Isoc. iv 31. 8, xvii 42.2, X. *Hell.* 7. 1.35.

λελείμμεθα: 'to be deficient/ inferior, to be left behind'; cf. Hdt. 7. 48, 7. 86, S. *OC* 495, Ar. *Ra.* 37, Th. 6. 72.

2 δίχα: here 'without', as in *Ion* 775, *Ba.* 804, A. *Ag.* 861f., S. *Ai.* 768, found elsewhere in the sense of 'separately, at different sides, at variance'.

Fr. 6:

These lines are assigned also to Alexis (fr. dub. 340 K.-A.) by Stobaeus. Though the possibility of an error of ascription in one of the two lēmmata cannot be ruled out, I would side with Kock (1880-1888, II 407) and Arnott (1996, 846) as to the likelihood that Alexis could have quoted this distich from the *Danae* in the context of parody; mythological burlesque, which is a distinctive feature of middle comedy, involved quotation of tragic lines, mostly Euripidean: cf. for instance, Eub. *Nannion* fr. 67. 10 K.-A. quoting *IA* 370, the quotation of *Med.* 476 in Eub. *Dionysius* fr. 26 K.-A., where *Andromeda* fr. 129 Kn. is also cited, *Or.* 37 in Eub. *Medea* fr. 64 K.-A., *Auge* fr. 265a Kn. in Anaxandr. fr. inc. 66 K.-A. and Webster (1953) 82f., Nesselrath (1990) 205-235, 245, 279, Lever (1956) 178.

The emphasis on the futility of guarding a woman points to the disclosure of Danae's seduction. Such a disparaging statement on female misconduct must have naturally been uttered by a man and the likeliest candidate is Acrisius,[205] whose effort to restrain his daughter by enclosing her in the bronze chamber—if Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition— has now proved to be fruitless. There is no evidence as to how Danae's illicit motherhood was revealed, though fr. 7 (praising the power of gold over love) and frr. 8-12 (possibly from an *agōn* on the power of wealth, cf. introductory note on fr. 8) seem to support the widely held view that Acrisius may have found the pieces of gold in her chamber, thus inferring that she was bribed to be seduced by a rich man (cf. opening note on fr. 7). The present fragment may thus hint at the reversal of dramatic action, which could have brought about the *agōn* on the power of wealth possibly between Danae and Acrisius (frr. 8-12) and her self-sacrifice by choosing to be exposed together with her baby son (frr. 13, 14).

This a case of contrast priamel (for this type of priamel, cf. especially Krischer 1974, 81-87 and Schmid 1964, 51-66), in which the *illustrantia* are introduced with anaphora (οὔτε... οὔτε... οὔτ'..., cf. Lausberg 1998, 281-283). Cf. the elaborate contrast priamel of fr. 2 (and

[205] So Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59 and Arnott (1996) 846.

for more detail, cf. note *ad loc.*) and the structurally similar priamels in *Hipp.* 530-532 : οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ' ἄστρων ὑπέρτερον βέλος/ οἷον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἵησιν ἐκ χερῶν/ Ἔρως ὁ Διὸς παῖς, *Hec.* 1181f.: γένος γὰρ οὔτε πόντος οὔτε γῆ τρέφει/ τοιόνδ', *HF* 861-863 : οὔτε πόντος οὔτω κύμασι στένων λάβρος/ οὔτε γῆς σεισμὸς κεραυνοῦ τ' οἶστρος ὠδῖνας πνέων/ οἳ' ἐγὼ στάδια δραμοῦμαι στέρνον εἰς Ἡρακλέους, fr. inc. 1029 Kn.: οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρετῆς κτῆμα τιμιώτερον·/ οὐ γὰρ πέφυκε δοῦλον οὔτε χρημάτων/ οὔτ' εὐγενείας οὔτε θωπείας ὄχλου.

1 οὔτε τεῖχος οὔτε χρήματα: the *illustrantia* refer to basic elements ensuring the well-being of the *polis* (city-wall) and prosperity in private life (domestic wealth), thus pointing out the necessity, as well as difficulty of guarding a woman. If the speaker is Acrisius, as he seems to be, the reference to *χρήματα* could additionally hint at his preoccupation with the value of wealth, which is what is alleged in the possible *agōn* (cf. frr. 7-10 likely to have been uttered by Acrisius).

2 δυσφύλακτον: here 'hard to guard'; cf. its similar usage in Plb. 2. 55.2, D.S. 15. 68.5 (for cities), and Strabo 9. 3.8 (for wealth), 11. 4.2. Cf. also *Andr.* 727f.: ἀνειμένον τι χρῆμα πρεσβυτῶν γένος/ καὶ δυσφύλακτον ὀξυθυμίας ὕπο ('hard to keep off'), *Ph.* 924: δυσφύλακτ' αἴνει κακά ('hard to avert').

Though the comment on the difficulty of guarding a woman arises from the particular situation of Danae's seclusion in view of the oracle, the generalizing overtones of the statement seem also to allude to sexual segregation in Classical Athens, which aimed to ensure female chastity before marriage and thus the production of legitimate offspring (cf. Lys. i 33). The dignity of the *oikos* was regarded as concerning the *polis* as a whole, since any son of a married Athenian woman would receive the rights of Athenian citizenship. Hence, female honour involved sexual purity and male honour assumed the responsibility of defending the purity of the female members of his household; cf. *Heracl.* 43f. (and Allan 2001, *ad loc.*): νέας γὰρ παρθένους αἰδούμεθα/ ὄχλωι πελάζειν κἀπιβωμιοστατεῖν, 476f.: γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγή τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν/ κάλλιστον εἴσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων, *Ph.* 93-95 (and Craik 1988, *ad loc.*), *Or.* 108 (and West 1987, *ad loc.*): ἐς ὄχλον ἔρπειν παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν, fr. inc. 1061 Kn.: μοχθοῦμεν ἄλλως θῆλυ φρουροῦντες γένος·/ ἥτις γὰρ αὐτὴ μὴ πέφυκεν †εν δος† (ἔνδικος Gesner),/ τί δεῖ φυλάσσειν κἀξαμαρτάνειν πλέον; Lys. iii 6 (and Carey 1989, *ad loc.*), D. xlvii, Is. iii 13 f., Men. *Dysc.* 222-224 and Ogden (1997) 25-36, Cohen (1991) 140f., Des Bouvrie (1990) 44-48, 51f., Blundell (1995) 135-138,

Cohen (1993) 7f., Pomeroy (1975) 86, Walcot (1996) 91-93, Clark (1989) 17-19, Fantham, Foley, Kampen, Pomeroy and Shapiro (1994) 79f. The gravity of this issue emerges from the legislation for *moicheia* mentioned in Lys. i 28, Aeschin. i 90, Plut. *Sol.* 23 (a more general reference in D. xxiii 53-55), which enabled the aggrieved party, i.e. a woman's *kyrios* in this case, to kill the *moichos* on the spot, if caught *in flagrante* with her, provided that the offender admitted to the charge; cf. Carey (1995) 412.

The difficulty of guarding a woman, as alleged in this fragment, reveals men's perception of female sexuality; cf. *Med.* 569-573, *Hipp.* 967-970, *Andr.* 220f., *Ion* 1090-1095 (and Lee 1997, 278), also Hes. fr. 275 M.-W., Anaxandr. fr. inc. 61 K.-A., Men. *Sam.* 349f. and Cohen (1991) 144f., Dover (1974) 101f. A law established by Solon, but perhaps not applied in the fifth and fourth century, allowed fathers to sell as slaves unmarried daughters who had lost their virginity (Plut. *Sol.* 23. 2). Likewise, Aeschines (i 182) refers to the cruel punishment of a seduced daughter, who was imprisoned by her father in a deserted house together with a horse; cf. schol. *ad loc.* (Dilts).

The social issue of a maiden's seduction and her clash with her natal family seems to have preoccupied Euripides in his *Danae, Alope, Melanippe the Wise* and *Auge*, where the father-daughter confrontation appears to have been a climactic point in dramatic action (cf. Plot-Structure); cf. *Alope* fr. 109 Kn. (probably uttered by Alope's father Cercyon): οὐ μὴν σύ γ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς τεκόντας ἠδέσω, fr. 111 Kn.: τί δῆτα μοχθεῖν δεῖ γυναικεῖον γένος/ φρουροῦντας; αἱ γὰρ εὖ τεθραμμέναι πλέον/ σφάλλουσιν οἴκους τῶν παρημελημένων (cf. Borecky 1955, 88f., Karamanou 2003, 34f.), *Mel. S.* fr. 485 Kn. (prose paraphrase in [D.H.] *Rhet.* 9. 11.34, the speaker is Melanippe): εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκεν τὰ παιδία καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις; fr. 497 Kn. (assigned to Hellen or Aeolus against Melanippe and likelier to belong to the *Wise* rather than the *Captive Melanippe*, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): τείσασθε τήνδε· καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν νοσεῖ/ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν· οἳ μὲν ἢ παίδων πέρι/ ἢ συγγενείας εἵνεκ' οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν/ κακὴν λαβόντες· εἶτα τοῦτο τἄδικον/ πολλαῖς ὑπερρύηκε καὶ χωρεῖ πρόσω,/ ὥστ' ἐξίτηλος ἀρετὴ καθίσταται. In these plays, the father, the *kyrios*, often imprisons his daughter after the disclosure of her misconduct, using spatial confinement as a means of reasserting his control over her; cf. Seaford (1990_b) 81, 84 and Guidorizzi (2000) 468. Naevius' *Danae* evidently touched on the social aspect of the girl's seduction, as well, to judge from fr. 5 Traglia: *eam nunc esse inventam probris compotem scis* and fr. 7 T. (and his note

ad loc.): *desubito famam tollunt, si quam solam videre in via* (cf. 1d. The Legend in Latin Literature).

Fr. 7:

This widely cited fragment is an exclamation illustrating the overwhelming power of gold over people. The praise of gold reaches its climax with the reference to the golden look in Cypris' eyes, which rouses erotic passion. Love is thus presented as inspired by gold and wealth, in general. The widely held view is that Acrisius may have uttered these lines upon discovering the pieces of gold left from Zeus' transformation, inferring that his daughter was seduced by a rich man [206] (Amphitryon in the *Alcmene* could have made the same assumption, on the basis of frr. 95, 96 Kn.[207]). This possibility can be supported by a combination of factors:

(a) the reference to gold in a play about Danae reasonably points to Zeus' transformation into golden shower.

(b) the association of Cypris with gold links these lines with frr. 8 and 9 presenting wealth as a prerequisite for love and marriage respectively, while the general notion of the present fragment is also consistent with that of fr. 10, which stresses the huge impact of money on people; the argumentation of frr. 8-12 points to the context of an *agōn* (cf. introductory note on fr. 8), where Acrisius may have alleged that Danae was overwhelmed by gold and was thus bribed to be seduced (frr. 8-10) and she may have refuted the accusation by denouncing wealth (frr. 11-12).

(c) the interpretation of Danae's seduction as due to bribery recurs in many authors after Euripides (and not before, on the basis of the available evidence): cf. T6, Hedylus 1865-70 G.-P. (and Gow-Page 1965, *ad loc.*), Antipater *A.P.* 5. 31, Parmenion *A.P.* 5. 33, 34, Ov. *Am.* 3. 8.29ff., Petron. *Sat.* 137 (and Walsh 1996, 200), Mart. 14. 175 (and Leary 1996, 237), Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16 and schol. Porph. *ad loc.* (Holder-Keller), Luc. *Gall.* 13, Philostr. *Ep.* 35. 1, 38. 9, Aes. *Prov.* 3, Nonn. *D.* 8. 258-261, P. Silent. *A.P.* 5. 217 (and Viansino 1963, 71f.), Theophyl. *Ep.* 81, Epiph. *Ancor.* 105. 7, Malalas 2. 11 (Thurn), Sud. s.v. 'Δανάη' (δ 57 Adler). Moreover, Eustathius in the context of his interpretation of 'golden' Aphrodite (schol. *Il.* 3. 64 van der Valk) refers to the allegation that Danae was bribed by

[206] So Webster (1967) 95, Aélion (1986) 154, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.
[207] Cf. Webster (1967) 93, Jouan and van Looy (1998) 126.

Zeus with gold, which implies that he could have had the present fragment in mind:[208] χρυσῆ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ χρυσοφόρος, ὡς καὶ χάλκεος Ἄρης διὰ τὸ φόρημα, ἢ ἡ καλὴ ἥ, ὅτι χρυσῷ καταπράττεται, ᾧ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν Δανάην χειροῦται (for the 'golden' Aphrodite in Homer, cf. below). The notoriety of this fragment emerges from its numerous citations (cf. its testimonia in the apparatus), suggesting that it became proverbial for the power of money over virtue and could account for the spreading of the idea that Danae was bribed to be seduced, as found in later authors.

The present fragment contains a general reflection evidently motivated by the disclosure of Danae's seduction (for such exclamations commenting on one's conduct, cf. note on l. 1) and does not display the argumentative character of frr. 8-12, which locates them in the context of a formal debate with much probability. Nevertheless, it is consistent with the view held in frr. 8-10 and may thus fit the beginning or closure of Acrisius' possible *rhesis* in the debate; cf. similarly the general reflections at the start of the agonistic speeches in *Hipp.* 935-942 (and Barrett 1964, 335), *Andr.* 183-185, 693-702, *Ph.* 469-472, 499-502 and at the closure of Medea's *rhesis* in *Med.* 516-519 (and Mastronarde 2002, 256), also Johansen (1959) 152-154, 155 and n. 17, also 158, n. 26.

Aphrodite's association with gold originates in Homer, where she is the only goddess to be described as 'golden'; cf. *Il.* 3. 64 (μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης), 5. 427 (χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην), 9. 389, 19. 282 (χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ), 22. 470, 24. 699 and *Od.* 4. 14 (ἢ εἶδος ἔχε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης), 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 54 and the reference to her Homeric epithet in Antipater *A.P.* 5. 30, Luc. *J. Tr.* 10. However ornamental the Homeric epithet may have been, the image of 'golden Aphrodite' recurs in Mimn. fr. 1 W. (τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;), Thgn. 1381f. (χρυσῆς Κυπρογενοῦς), Bacch. *Epin.* 5. 174 (νῆιν ἔτι χρυσέας Κύπριδος θελξιμβρότου), Theoc. 15. 101 (χρυσῷ παίζοισ' Ἀφροδίτα), Philodemus *A.P.* 5. 121 (ὦ χρυσέη Κύπρι) and D.S. 1. 97.8 (τήν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χρυσῆν ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδόσεως, καὶ πεδίον εἶναι καλούμενον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης, which may also be related to Aphrodite's cult in Egypt, cf. Gow-Page 1965, II 293). Likewise, in this praise of gold, Euripides seems to be 'playing' with Cypris' irresistible 'golden look', which he presents as

[208] These lines were notorious enough to be cited in late sources, such as Const. Porph. *Sent.* (p. 400, 21-26 Boissevain) and Tz. *Ep.* 43. Eustathius seems to have known the rough context of the situation, perhaps through an intermediary source, as suggested by his interpretation of Danae's seduction as bribery in relation to 'golden' Aphrodite.

rousing amorous passion (cf. note on l. 5), and relates it to Danae's situation and to the false inference that she was bribed with gold.

1 ὦ χρυσέ: speeches commenting on —often denouncing— someone's conduct tend to start with an exclamation of more universal import; cf. *Andr.* 319f.: ὦ δόξα δόξα, μυρίοισι δὴ βροτῶν/ οὐδὲν γεγῶσι βίοτον ὤγκωσας μέγαν, *Supp.* 1108-1113, *Ion* 1512-1514, *Or.* 126 (and Willink 1986, *ad loc.*): ὦ φύσις, ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὡς μέγ' εἶ κακόν, *Phoenix* fr. 813 Kn.: ὦ πλοῦθ', ὅσῳ μὲν ῥᾷστον εἶ βάρος φέρειν,/ πόνοι δὲ κἀν σοὶ καὶ φθοραὶ πολλαὶ βίου/ ἔνεισ', *Phrixus II* fr. 820b Kn., frr. inc. 916, 1080 Kn., S. *OT* 380-382: ὦ πλοῦτε καὶ τυραννὶ καὶ τέχνη τέχνης/ ὑπερφέρουσα, τῷ πολυζήλῳ βίῳ/ ὅσος παρ' ὑμῖν ὁ φθόνος φυλάσσεται, *Eriphyle* fr. 201a R. and Mastronarde (1979) 78, Schadewaldt (1966) 124f.

TrGF II fr. adesp. 129 Kn.-Sn. deriving from a choral ode presents a striking similarity with our fragment as to the illustration of the overwhelming power of gold over love and nature as a whole (Hartung 1843-1844, I 92 attempted to associate this fragment with the *Danae*, on the basis of the common theme): ὦ χρυσέ, βλάστημα χθονός,/ οἷον ἔρωτα βροτοῖσι φλέγεις,/ πάντων κρατιστεύων τύραννε·/ πολέμοις δ' Ἄρεως/ κρείσσον' ἔχων δύναμιν,/ <τᾷ> πάντα θέλγεις· ἐπὶ γὰρ Ὀρφείαις μὲν ᾠδαῖς/ εἵπετο δένδρεα καὶ/ θηρῶν ἀνόητα γένη,/ σοὶ δὲ καὶ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ πόντος καὶ ὁ παμμήστωρ Ἄρης. Greek poetry abounds in praises of gold as the most valuable of commodities; cf. *Od.* 1. 165, 6. 232, Alcman *PMG* fr. 1. 54, Sol. fr. 24. 2 W., Simon. *PMG* fr. 12, Pi. *O.* 1. 1f. (and Gerber 1982, 10f.): ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ/ ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου, 2. 72, 3. 42: κτεάνων δὲ/ χρυσὸς αἰδοιέστατος, 13. 78, *N.* 4. 82f., *I.* 5. 1-3, *Med.* 965: χρυσὸς δὲ κρείσσων μυρίων λόγων βροτοῖς, *Andromeda* fr. 142 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, 278f.), *Philoctetes* fr. 794 Kn. (and Müller 2000, 409), *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 294 Kn.-Sn.: χρυσὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὃς βροτῶν ἔχει κράτη, Diphilus fr. inc. 103 K.-A., Men. *Mon.* 826 (Jäkel). Gold is also suggestive of Oriental *olbos*; cf. *Andr.* 2, 169, *Hec.* 492 (and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*), 1002, *Ba.* 13, A. *Pers.* 3f., 9, 45, 53, 159, also Hall (1989) 154-156 and note on *Dictys* fr. 2.7. For the corrupting power of wealth, cf. notes on fr. 11 and *Dictys* fr. 15.2.

δεξίωμα: 'welcome thing' (*LSJ*[9]); rare word from *δεξιόομαι* 'to greet, to welcome', hence 'gift most welcome to men' (Jebb's translation 1900^3_b, 105), with two further occurrences before Byzantine Greek as 'pledge or mark of friendship' in S. *OC* 619 (with Jebb 1900^3_b and Kamerbeek 1984, *ad loc.*) and D.C. 58. 5.3. *P. Ross. Georg.* 9 (preserving

an excerpt from an anthology from Hellenistic Egypt dated in the second century BC) and certain mss of Athenaeus, Lucian and Athenagoras read *δεξίαμα*, which occurs as a variant for *δεξίωμα* also in some mss of S. *OC* 619. *Δεξίαμα* appears in texts written in the *Koinē*, which was widespread by the time the text was copied in our papyrus, to judge from the occurrence of *δεξιασθείς* (instead of *δεξιωθείς*) in LXX 2 *Ma.* 4. 34, while even later, in the fourth century AD, the verb occurs in the middle voice as *δεξιάζομαι* (*P. Lips.* 41.5).

2 ἡδονὰς ἔχει: 'gives pleasure'; similar phrasing in *Polyidus* fr. 642 Kn.: τὰ χρήματ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἡδονὰς ἔχει, *HF* 732: ἔχει γὰρ ἡδονὰς θνήισκων ἀνὴρ/ ἐχθρὸς τίνων τε τῶν δεδραμένων δίκην. For the vocabulary of joy felt between close kin, in particular, cf. *El.* 596: φίλας μὲν ἡδονὰς ἀσπασμάτων, *Tr.* 371f.: τὰ φίλτατ' ὤλεσ', ἡδονὰς τὰς οἴκοθεν/ τέκνων, *Ion* 1461, 1468f., *IT* 842, *Hel.* 634f. (and Kannicht 1969, 185): περὶ δὲ γυῖα χέρας ἔβαλον ἡδονάν,/ ὦ πόσις, ὡς λάβω, *Ph.* 314, 338: παιδοποιὸν ἁδονὰν, S. *El.* 1276f., *OC* 1204f.

τοιάσδ': this is the reading of the papyrus, cod. A of Stobaeus, Athenaeus and Athenagoras, as against cod. S of Stobaeus and the text of Sextus Empiricus, which read *τοίας*. The reading *τοιάσδ'* is clearly preferable to *τοίας*, since the latter, as Johansen and Whittle aptly observed (1980, II 405), in tragedy always stands first in its colon; cf. *Alc.* 65, 870, *Med.* 986, *Hec.* 908, *Supp.* 1226, *Theseus* fr. 383.1 Kn., A. *Th.* 580, *Eu.* 378, S. *Ai.* 562, *Ant.* 124. On the other hand, no such restriction applies for *τοιάσδ'*; cf. for instance, *Hipp.* 655, *IT* 336, *Or.* 293, *Ba.* 1243, A. *Ag.* 1276, S. *OC* 1258. Prof. Kannicht was obviously right to suspect in his critical apparatus that *τοιάσδ'* could be the correct reading.

4: This line is absent from nearly all the basic sources for this passage, namely the papyrus, which is our earliest source, Stobaeus and Seneca and is only transmitted in the manuscripts of Athenaeus and Sextus Empiricus. It does not add anything to the meaning, rather it makes explicit what is self-evident. Hence, it could originate in an explanatory interpolation, perhaps a histrionic one (for such cases, cf. Page 1934, 56, 117); a *terminus ante quem* for its occurrence would be the second century AD, as the line must have been in the sources of Athenaeus and Sextus Empiricus.

5 τοιοῦτον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾷ: 'has such an expression/ look (i.e. the look of gold) in her eyes'. The dative is used in its locative sense without a preposition (an earlier poetic usage, cf. note on fr. 1.3). Seneca accordingly translates '*tam dulce siquid Veneris in vultu micat*'. For this sense of *ὁρῶ*, cf. [Hes.] *Sc.* 426: δεινὸν ὁρῶν ὄσσοισι, Sol. fr. 34.5 W.: λοξὸν

ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶσι πάντες ὥστε δήιον, Pi. *O.* 9. 111: εὔχειρα, δεξιόγυιον, ὁρῶντ' ἀλκάν, Theoc. 13. 45: ἔαρ θ' ὁρόωσα Νύχεια.

6 οὐ θαῦμ': litotes aiming to draw emphasis (cf. Lausberg 1998, 268); cf. similarly *IA* 823f.: οὐ θαῦμά σ' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, οἷς μὴ πάρος/ προσῆκες· αἰνῶ δ 'ὅτι σέβεις τὸ σωφρονεῖν, *Protesilaus* fr. 651 Kn.: οὐ θαῦμ' ἔλεξας θνητὸν ὄντα δυστυχεῖν, also *El.* 284, A. *Supp.* 513, S. *OT* 1319f., Ar. *V.* 1139.

τρέφειν: the papyrus and Athenaeus read *ἔχειν*, which seems to be an unconscious scribal mistake possibly under the influence of *ἔχει* three lines above (at the end of l. 2). Mastronarde (2002, 93) notes the use of *τρέφω* instead of *ἔχω* for poetic variety. For its occurrence with personified ideas, as in the present case, cf. *Hec.* 232f.: οὐδ' ὤλεσέν με Ζεύς, τρέφει δ' ὅπως ὁρῶ/ κακῶν κάκ' ἄλλα μείζον' ἡ τάλαιν' ἐγώ, A. *Ch.* 585f.: πολλὰ μὲν γᾶ τρέφει/ δεινὰ δειμάτων ἄχη, S. *Ai.* 1124: ἡ γλῶσσά σου τὸν θυμὸν ὡς δεινὸν τρέφει, *Ant.* 1089, *OT* 356: πέφευγα· τἀληθὲς γὰρ ἰσχῦον τρέφω, *Tr.* 28: ξυστᾶσ' ἀεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω. For the description of Aphrodite as breeding Erotes, cf. Pi. fr. 122. 4-6 Sn.-M.: ματέρ' ἐρώτων/ οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι/ νοήματι πρὸς Ἀφροδίταν.

Fr. 8:

This fragment is quoted by Plutarch as recited *ἀπὸ μιᾶς σκηνῆς* together with S. fr. inc. 941. 1-4 R., which also enumerates attributes of Aphrodite; a reasonable interpretation of Plutarch's passage may well suggest a performance in his era of selected excerpts with reference to Eros.[209] Inscriptional evidence reveals that the performance of excerpts of tragedies can be traced back to as early as the second century BC (cf. *Syll.*[3] 648B and Sifakis 1967, 96f.) and it was evidently a common practice in Plutarch's era.[210] This testimony is thus indicative of the performance of this excerpt of the *Danae* and, in turn, of the continuing appeal of its themes to audiences and literary circles of the second century AD, as

[209] Cf. Di Gregorio (1976) 163f.

[210] Cf. *TrGF* I DID B 15 (2nd century AD: performance of lyric excerpts from Sophocles, Euripides and the poems of Timotheus based on the musical scores of Aelius Themison), Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 4. 39, D. Chr. xix 5 and Kokolakis (1960) 95f., Pertusi (1956) 114, 116f.

suggested also by the possibility of Lucian's inspiration by the play in *D. Mar.* 12 (cf. note on T5 and Appendix, The Sources).

Frr. 8-10 display rhetorical argumentation for the power of wealth and for its being a prerequisite for love, as well as marriage, while frr. 11-12 include counter-arguments disparaging richness. In more specific terms, this clear opposition of views emerges from the question in fr. 9. 1-5 introduced by *ἆρ' οἶσθ',* which implies that the speaker already knows the contrasting position of the opponent, as well as from the emphatic *ἐγὼ δὲ* in fr. 11. 4 and *τοῦτον νομίζω* in fr. 12. 3, which evidently refute the opposing view (cf. introductory notes on frr. 11, 12). The apostrophe to gold and its power over love in the closely relevant fr. 7 hints at the discovery of pieces of gold from Zeus' transformation, which appears to have led to Acrisius' false inference that Danae was bribed with gold to be seduced by a rich man (cf. introductory note on fr. 7). This rhetorical opposition of views has reasonably been regarded as belonging to a formal debate,[211] where one character affirms the overwhelming power of wealth, based on the discovery of gold in Danae's chamber (frr. 8-10, perhaps also fr. 7), and another character censures opulence by defending the prudence of less privileged people (frr. 11-12). The praise of the righteousness of humble people is a *topos* in Euripides (cf. notes on fr. 11. 4-7 and *Dictys* fr. 14. 2-4) and, at the same time, a powerfully moral argument assignable to a sympathetic figure, who adopts this position presumably as a means of refuting the accusation of Danae's bribery. The likeliest candidate for this role should be Danae herself, whose participation in the *agōn* would have also illustrated her *dianoia* (Arist. *Poet.* 1450B 4-8) and placed her at the centre of dramatic interest. Acrisius, on the other hand, is reasonably expected to be the one affirming the power of wealth, based on the false assumption that his daughter was bribed.

Hence, on the basis of the available evidence, the *agōn* seems to have been prompted by the disclosure of Danae's seduction, which would probably make it a 'trial-debate', though no explicit accusation against Danae is preserved in the available fragments, whose generalizing tone accounts for their inclusion in a gnomic anthology. As a rule, the plaintiff should have spoken first (frr. 8-10— fr. 7 may have also belonged to the *agōn,* cf. introductory note *ad loc.*) and the defendant second (frr. 11-12).[212] The prevailing speech (which is that of the sympathetic character) is

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[211] So Duchemin (1968[2]) 91, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58.

[212] An exception of this principle occurs in the debates in *El.* 998-1131 and *Tr.* 895-1059; cf. Lloyd (1992) 101.

usually placed second, in climactic order.[213] As in several cases,[214] an initial dialogue between the participants may have introduced the debate and could account for the emphatic question in fr. 9. 1-5, which presupposes that the plaintiff is already aware of the defendant's position.[215] Rhetorical confrontations of father and daughter with a similar focus take place in the *Melanippe the Wise* and *Alope* (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 27f.). Another formal debate between father and offspring, also touching on wealth as a criterion for marriage, occurs between Aeolus and Macareus in *Aeolus* frr. 20, 21, 22 Kn.[216]

1 ἀργὸν κἀπὶ τοῖς ἀργοῖς ἔφυ: Pierson's emendation *τοῖς ἀργοῖς* of Stobaeus' transmitted reading *τοῖς ἔργοις* is preferable to Plutarch's *τοιούτοις*, in view of the rhetorically effective *polyptōton*; cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 71, n. 37 and for this figure, Lausberg (1998) 288f. Eros is conceived as flourishing in leisure; cf. Theophr. fr. 114 Wimmer: ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἔρως, πάθος, ἔφη, ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης, Pl. *R.* 572E-573A: ἔρωτά τινα αὐτῷ μηχανωμένους ἐμποιῆσαι προστάτην τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα διανεμομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὑπόπτερον καὶ μέγαν κηφῆνά τινα–ἢ τί ἄλλο οἴει εἶναι τὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἔρωτα; *Symp.* 197D 7: (ἔρως) τρυφῆς, ἁβρότητος, χλιδῆς, χαρίτων, ἱμέρου, πόθου πατήρ. In Theocr. 14. 52-56 the hero seeks to escape from love by engaging into action and becoming a soldier (the pursuit of military *negotium* as a means of recovering from *eros* is a recurring theme in Plaut. *Trin.* 648-650, Tib. 1. 1.53-55, 2. 6.5f., Ov. *Rem.* 142-154). In Roman poetry the notion of *otium* (in the particular sense of leisure and devotion to private activities) as a prerequisite for *eros* is mainly rooted in Epicurean thought; cf. Ov. *Rem.* 136-140 (and Henderson 1979, 58): *fac monitis fugias otia prima meis/ haec ut ames, faciunt; haec, quod fecere, tuentur;/ haec sunt iucundi causa cibusque mali./ otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,/ contemptaeque iacent et sine luce faces*, *Am.* 1. 9.41f., Tib. 2. 6.5f. (and Murgatroyd 1994, 247, Maltby 2002, 468), Catull. 51. 13-16 (cf. Ferguson 1985, 150-152 for a bulk of bibliographical references to *otium* in Catullus), Lucr. 4. 1136, Ter. *Heaut.* 109 and André (1966) 208f., 221-230, 406-413, André (1962) 6f. Cf. also Cic. *Tusc.* 4. 74:

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[213] For the order of speakers and very few exceptions, cf. Schlesinger (1937) 69f., Collard (1975_b) 62.

[214] Cf. *Hipp.* 902-935, *Andr.* 577-589, *Hec.* 1109-1131, *Supp.* 399-407, *Tr.* 895-913, *El.* 998-1010, *IA* 317-333.

[215] Alternatively, there might have been two pairs of set-speeches (cf. *Andr.* 590-746).

[216] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 25, Webster (1967) 158.

(amans) abducendus etiam est non numquam ad alia studia, sollicitudines, curas, negotia.

2 κάτοπτρα: mirroring is a feminine attribute *par excellence*, which often acquires an erotic focus. Mirrors are principally associated with Aphrodite (cf. Call. 5. 17-22 and Bulloch 1985, 130, Stat. *Silv.* 3. 4.93-98, *A.P.* 6. 18.5f., Ath. 687C, Philostr. *Imag.* 1. 6.304), Helen (cf. *Tr.* 1107, *Or.* 1112, Karouzou 1951, 582-584 and for Aphrodite and Helen as decorative figures in bronze mirrors, cf. Thomson de Grummond 1982, 37) and women in general (cf. Ar. *Th.* 140, Plaut. *Most.* 250f., Mart. 11.50, Ov. *Am.* 2. 17.9f., *Ars Am.* 2. 215f., 3. 135f., Prop. 3. 6.11 and several vase-illustrations of women gazing at mirrors in Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997, pl. 1-29). Female self-adornment and the fascination of catoptric experience in erotic contexts frequently involve the beholder's entrapment within the mirror itself or the experience, which it defines; cf. *Med.* 1161 (where the mirror provides a false reflection of the princess's beauty, as she is about to be deformed), *Hec.* 925 (expressive of oriental self-indulgence, cf. Collard 1991, *ad loc.*), *El.* 1071 and McCarty (1989) 180f. The intimacy of mirroring also hints at female seclusion, as opposed to male social life; cf. Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant (1997) 243. Hence, the reference to mirroring in a play about Danae may well allude to the maiden's seclusion and sexuality, especially since a mirror appears as a detail in certain vase-paintings depicting her as receiving the golden shower in her bronze chamber (cf. *LIMC* figg. 1, 2, 4, 6 and the relevant comments of Frontisi-Ducroux and Vernant 1997, 81). For further aspects of metaphorical catoptrics, cf. the discussions in McCarty (1989) 161-179 and Assael (1992) 562-571.

ξανθίσματα: dyed blond hair is expressive of female self-adornment. Menander (fr. inc. 450 K.-A.) presents it as the feature of a reckless woman: νῦν δ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ/ τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν. Cf. also *El.* 1071 (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*). Dionysus' perfumed blond curls in *Ba.* 235 (cf. Dodds 1960^{2}_{b}, *ad loc.*) are expressive of his effeminate beauty. Blond hair is a typical sign of beauty and the epithet *ξανθός* is attached mostly to goddesses and beautiful women: to Aphrodite (S. *Inachus* fr. 277 R., *A.P.* 9. 605), Demeter (*Il.* 5. 500, *h.Hom. Cer.* 279, 302 and Allen and Halliday 1936^{2}, *ad loc.*), Athena (Pi. *N.* 10. 7, Bacch. *Epin.* 5. 92), the Graces (Pi. *N.* 5. 54, *A.P.* 7. 440), Helen (Sappho fr. 23. 5 L.-P., Stesich. S 103. 5 Davies, Ibyc. S 151. 5 Davies, *Hel.* 1224 and Kannicht 1969, *ad loc.*). Cf. also *Med.* 980, *IA* 681 (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*), Longus 1. 17.3, *A.P.* 5. 26, 259 and Handschur (1970) 145f. *Ξανθός* occasionally describes heroes:

Menelaus (*Il.* 3. 284, 4. 183, 17. 6, 23. 293, *Od.* 3. 168, 4. 30, 15. 147), Rhadamanthys (*Od.* 5. 64, 7. 323) and Meleager (*Il.* 2. 642).

3 ἔν δέ μοι τεκμήριον: 'a compelling sign permitting firm conclusions to be drawn about a particular matter' (see Lausberg 1998, 166, cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1357B 4-17 and Cope 1867, 160-168, Quint. *Inst.* 5. 9.3). The use of *τεκμήριον* is a Sicilian device, perhaps introduced in Athenian rhetoric by Protagoras (cf. Navarre 1900, 21-23). The term is here employed in its forensic function, as defined by Aristotle, which is suggestive of the formality of the debate and of the speaker's rhetorical self-consciousness. Cf. *Phoenix* fr. 811 Kn.: τἀφανῆ τεκμηρίοισιν εἰκότως ἁλίσκεται, fr. inc. 898. 5f. Kn.: τεκμήριον δέ, μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθῃς,/ ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ τῆς θεοῦ. A. *Eum.* 447: τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδέ σοι λέξω μέγα, 485: μαρτύριά τε καὶ τεκμήρια, 662: τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦδέ σοι δείξω λόγου, also Th. 2. 15.4, 39.2, 50.2 (and Hornblower 1987, 101-104, Finley 1967, 9), Antiph. v 61.1, Lys. xiii 20.2, xix 25.1, xxi 9.1, D. xx 10.3, xxii 76.3, xxiii 207.1, Isoc. xix 51.1, xxi 11.1, Lycurg. i 61.3. Likewise, the speaker's self-consciousness of his argumentative task is evident in the *agōnes* in *Med.* 548f. (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*): ἐν τῶιδε δείξω πρῶτα μὲν σοφὸς γεγώς,/ ἔπειτα σώφρων, εἶτά σοι μέγας φίλος, *Andr.* 706, *HF* 173, *Tr.* 970: τήνδε δείξω μὴ λέγουσαν ἔνδικα, *Mel. D.* fr. 494. 3 Kn. (from a debate, cf. Jouan and van Looy 2000, 371): μάτην ἄρ' εἰς γυναῖκας ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ψόγος·/ ψάλλει κενὸν τόξευμα καὶ λέγει κακῶς·/ αἱ δ' εἴσ' ἀμείνους ἀρσένων. δείξω δ' ἐγώ.

4 οὐδεὶς προσαιτῶν βίοτον ἠράσθη βροτῶν: resolution of the third *longum*, which is common even in Euripides' early plays (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, 29, 44f., 47, classifying it as resolution-type 6.1c, Devine and Stephens 1980, 66, Ceadel 1941, 72f.) and thus not chronologically distinctive. Lack of wealth inhibits leisure and self-adornment, which are here regarded as prerequisites for *eros*; cf. fr. inc. 895 Kn.: ἐν πλησμονῇ τοι Κύπρις, ἐν πεινῶντι δ' οὔ, Critias *Rhadamanthys TrGF* I 43 F17 ([E.] *Rhadamanthys* fr. 659 N.[2]): ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσὶ παντοῖοι βίου·/ ὃ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἱμείρει λαβεῖν,/ τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τούτου φροντίς, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων/ πολλῶν κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται πάτωρ δόμοις, also Thgn. 2. 1383-1385: δῶρον ἰοστεφάνου/ γίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν ἔχειν χαλεπώτατον ἄχθος,/ ἂν μὴ Κυπρογενὴς δῶι λύσιν ἐκ χαλεπῶν, Pl. *Symp.* 197D 7, *A.P.* 5. 30, 31, 33, 34, 50: καὶ πενίη καὶ ἔρως δύο μοι κακά· καὶ τὸ μὲν οἴσω/ κούφως, πῦρ δὲ φέρειν Κύπριδος οὐ δύναμαι, *A.P.* 121.

5 † ἡβητής: this reading is unmetrical. I would side with Schmidt, who suggested *εὐπετής* (*LSJ* [9]: 'easy, favourable', a metaphor from tossing dice: 'falling well') fitting both metre and context; cf. *Cyc.* 526: ὅπου τιθῆι τις, ἐνθάδ' ἐστὶν εὐπετής, *Ph.* 689: πάντα δ' εὐπετῆ θεοῖς, A. *Supp.* 1011, Pl. *R.* 365C. The notion of *εὐπέτεια* ('easiness of having or getting') suits the basic idea of the fragment; cf. X. *Oec.* 5. 5.5: εὐπέτειαν τροφῆς παρέχουσα, Pl. *Lg.* 718D: οὐ γὰρ πολλή τις εὐπέτεια οὐδὲ ἀφθονία τῶν προθυμουμένων, Hdt. 5.20: γυναικῶν πολλή ἐστι ὑμῖν εὐπετείη.

Fr. 9:

As noted above (cf. introductory note on fr. 8), the speaker of this fragment and of frr. 7, 8 and 10 argues for the overwhelming power of wealth, probably on the basis of the false inference that Danae was bribed with gold to be seduced (presumably in view of pieces of gold left from Zeus' transformation in her chamber, cf. introductory note on fr. 7). This position could be assigned to Acrisius possibly in the context of a formal debate between him and Danae (cf. introductory note on fr. 8), in which the latter is likely to have defended herself by denouncing wealth (frr. 11, 12).

The rhetorically elaborate lines of the present fragment argue for wealth as a basic criterion for marriage, asserting that monetary values overshadow the traditional quality of noble lineage, if the latter is not combined with wealth. A parallel argument is employed with a different purpose by Macareus in his *agōn* with Aeolus in *Aeolus* fr. 22 Kn.: τὴν δ' εὐγένειαν πρὸς θεῶν μή μοι λέγε·/ ἐν χρήμασιν τόδ' ἐστί· μὴ γαυροῦ, πάτερ./ κύκλῳ γὰρ ἕρπει· τῷ μὲν ἔσθ', ὃ δ' οὐκ ἔχει·/ κοινοῖσι δ' αὐτοῖς χρώμεθ'· ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐν δόμοις/ χρόνον συνοικῇ πλεῖστον, οὗτος εὐτυχής.[217]

The speaker is 'playing' with contrast of style and values; stylistic antithesis is a common rhetorical figure employed in *agōnes* (cf. *Hipp.* 986f., *Ph.* 360, 389, 433f., *Or.* 546f. and Lloyd 1992, 34, Fehling 1969, 296-298, Lausberg 1998, 350), while antithesis of content is an intrinsic feature of Euripidean debates, upon the model of *dissoi logoi* (cf. Solmsen 1975, 30f.). More specifically, emphatic contrast is drawn (a) with the

[217] For the agōn in the *Aeolus*, cf. Jouan and van Looy (1998) 25 and Webster (1967) 158.

juxtaposition of contradictory terms: οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς — οἳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν, πένητες — ὄλβιοι, πρόσθεν — νῦν, ὀλβίῳ — πένητι, κακῷ — κἀγαθῷ, κακός — † ὄλβιοι (see note *ad loc.*), ὁ μὴ ἔχων — οἱ δ' ἔχοντες, (b) between the qualities of lineage and monetary values, as a result of the detachment of wealth from aristocracy (cf. note on 1-5): εὐγενεῖς — πένητες ὄντες, οἳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν ('of lowly status') πρόσθεν — ὄλβιοι ('prosperous, rich') δὲ νῦν, ὀλβίῳ κακῷ ('rich of low birth') — πένητι κἀγαθῷ ('poor of noble lineage'). Further rhetorical figures are the chiastic anadiplosis of l. 8 (see note *ad loc.*) and the rhetorical question of ll. 1-5.

1-5: The detachment of wealth from lineage and the contestation of the latter if not combined with monetary values is an anachronism in a Heroic Age legend (cf. note on coinage in l. 4). The significant rise of economy during the seventh and sixth century thanks to the colonization and expansion of trade and craft activity led to the monetization of economic life. As the level of prosperity rose, more opportunities for social mobility appeared, which eventually caused the decline of aristocracy. The latter was also severely harmed by the 'hoplite reform' of the seventh century, which brought prosperous commoners into high military ranks (cf. Bryant 1996, 66f., 90f.). Consequently, those who were once *kakoi* ('of low birth') became prosperous, successful and thus powerful in view of their potential for effective contribution to war and public life. Money thus became a distinct value among other basic values, such as lineage, virtue at war and justice (for the comparison between money and justice, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 15. 2); cf. Seaford (2004) 160-162, 164, 170.

Theognis alludes to the stresses and strains upon values imposed by the invention of money; 1. 173-192 (of which cf. particularly 173: ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα, 177f.: καὶ γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίηι δεδμημένος οὔτε τι εἰπεῖν/ οὔθ' ἕρξαι δύναται, γλῶσσα δέ οἱ δέδεται), 315: πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται. Cf. also Alcaeus fr. 360 L.-P.: ὡς γὰρ δήποτ' Ἀριστόδαμον φαῖσ' οὐκ ἀπάλαμνον ἐν Σπάρται λόγον εἶπην, χρήματ' ἄνηρ, πένιχρος δ' οὐδ' εἷς πέλετ' ἔσλος οὐδὲ τίμιος and the recurrence of this view in Pi. *I.* 2. 10 (and Privitera 1982, *ad loc.*), *El.* 37f. (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*): λαμπροὶ γὰρ ἐς γένος γε, χρημάτων δὲ δὴ/ πένητες, ἔνθεν ηὐγένει' ἀπόλλυται, *Ph.* 438-442, *Aeolus* fr. 20 Kn.: μὴ πλοῦτον εἴπῃς· οὐχὶ θαυμάζω θεόν,/ ὃν χὠ κάκιστος ῥᾳδίως ἐκτήσατο, *Bell.* fr. 285. 11-13 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, 113): ὅστις δὲ γαῦρον σπέρμα γενναῖόν τ' ἔχων/ βίου σπανίζει, τῷ γένει μὲν εὐτυχεῖ,/ πενίᾳ δ' ἐλάσσων ἐστίν, ἐν δ' ἀλγύνεται/ φρονῶν, *Alcmene* fr. 95 Kn.: ἀλλ'

οὐδὲν ηὐγένεια πρὸς τὰ χρήματα·/ τὸν γὰρ κάκιστον πλοῦτος εἰς πρώτους ἄγει, *Andromeda* fr. 142 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, 278f.), Ar. *Eq.* 158 and Adkins (1972) 37-41, Adkins (1960) 76f., Seaford (1998) 121-123.

The overall importance of money in the second half of the fifth century emerges from the stress laid on its significance for the Peloponnesian War, as attested in Th. 1. 80.3f., 83, 121.2, 141.3, 2. 13.2f., [X.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.3 (cf. Seaford 1998, 120). On the superiority of wealth to lineage as criterion for marriage, cf. *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 14f.: ἔχειν δὲ πειρῶ· τοῦτο γὰρ τό τ' εὐγενὲς/ καὶ τοὺς γάμους δίδωσι τοὺς πρώτους ἔχειν, *Thyestes* fr. 395 Kn.: πλούτου δ' ἀπορρυέντος ἀσθενεῖς γάμοι·/ τὴν μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν αἰνοῦσιν βροτοί,/ μᾶλλον δὲ κηδεύουσι τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν, also Thgn. 1. 185-190. For marriage between members of the Athenian élite based on calculation of property, social position and political advantage, cf. Davies (1984) 117-120.

1-3: The antithesis is reinforced by a cross-arrangement of ideas:

οἱ μὲν εὐγενεῖς (high status)	οὐδὲν ἀλφάνουσ' (insignificance)
οἳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν (insignificance)	δόξαν φέρονται (high status)

The mutability of *olbos* is a commonplace; cf. *HF* 511f., *Tr.* 581f., *El.* 943 (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 555-558, *Or.* 340, *Ino* fr. 420 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 518 Kn., fr. inc. 1073 Kn., also S. *Ant.* 951-954 (and Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*), *OT* 1282-1285, *Tereus* fr. 591 R., Alexis fr. inc. 283 K.-A., Men. *Dysc.* 797 (and Handley 1965, 271). Cf. especially notes on *Danae* fr. 15. 9 and *Dictys* fr. 2. 8.

1 ἆρ' οἶσθ': 'do you realize that...'; cf. Dover (1968) 249 and Olson (1998) 148. A formally signposted rhetorical question introducing the argument in an emphatic manner; cf. its use in the debates in *Hec.* 239 and *IA* 337-339, cf. also S. *Ant.* 2f. (and Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*): ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅ τι Ζεὺς τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν / ἃ, ποῖον οὐχὶ νῷν ἔτι ζώσαιν τελεῖ; [A.] *Pr.* 328f. (and Griffith 1983, *ad loc.*): ἢ οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς ὢν περισσόφρων ὅτι/ γλώσσῃ ματαίᾳ ζημία προστρίβεται; Ar. *Ach.* 481: ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅσον τὸν ἀγῶν' ἀγωνιεῖ τάχα, *V.* 4, *Pax* 371, *Av.* 609, 668, 1221, 1246, Alexis *Tarantinoi* fr. 222 K.-A., Mnesimachus *Philippus* fr. 7 K.-A., Nicostratus fr. inc. 30 K.-A.: ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι τῆς πενίας ὅπλον / ἡ παρρησία; D. xviii 195, Pl. *Crat.* 397E, 418C, *Euthyd.* 279E, 301C.

ὀθούνεχ': it occurs in the place of ὡς or ὅτι ('that') frequently after *οἶδα* ; cf. *Alc.* 796: καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὀθούνεκα, S. *El.* 47, 617, 1308, *OT* 572, *Tr.* 813: οὐ κάτοισθ' ὀθούνεκα, *Ph.* 634, *OC* 853: οἶδ' ἐγώ, γνώσῃ

τάδε,/ ὀθούνεκ', 944: ἤδη δ' ὀθούνεκ'. In other cases, it is explanatory ('because'); cf. *Ion* 662, *Hel.* 104, 591, fr. inc. 862 Kn., S. *Ai.* 123, 553, *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 116 Kn.-Sn.

εὐγενεῖς: 'well-born'; cf. *Alc.* 332, *Heracl.* 233, *Hipp.* 26, 710, *Hec.* 381, *HF* 50, 292, *Tr.* 583, 614, *Ion* 1540, *Ph.* 1623, *Alexandros* fr. 52 Kn., but cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 14. 2-4 for justice as a prerequisite for *εὐγένεια*.

2 ἀλφάνουσ': 'to earn, to bring in'; in tragedy it occurs only here and metaphorically in *Med.* 297 (φθόνον ἀλφάνουσι 'to incur envy'), while in Homer it is used in the aorist (*Il.* 21. 79, *Od.* 15. 453, 17. 250: ἵνα μοι βίοτον πολὺν ἄλφοι, 20. 383). To judge from its use in *IG* I ^{3} 84. 15 (ὁπόσην ἄν ἄλφηι μίσθωσιν τὸ τέμενος), Ar. *Thesmophoriazusae* II fr. 339 K.-A. and Eupolis *Taxiarchoi* fr. 273 K.-A. (both comic passages are referring to auctions), it seems to have been also a commercial term (cf. Mastronarde's note on *Med.* 297). Cf. additionally Men. *Homopatrioi* fr. 263 K.-A., schol. Anon. Arist. *Rh.* (Rabe, p. 126): τὸ ἀλφάνω δηλοῖ τὸ λαμβάνω ἢ τὸ εὑρίσκω, Phot. α 1065 (Theodorides), Sud. α 1446 (Adler), Hsch. α 3325 (Latte).

ἔτι: indicative of the transition of social conditions and values; cf. also πρόσθεν and νῦν (l. 3) and above, note on ll. 1-5.

3 οἳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦσαν: 'worthless, useless, of no account', corresponding to the epic use of *οὐτιδανός* and widely found in Euripides and Sophocles; cf. *HF* 314: νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐσμεν, 634f.: οἵ τ' ἀμείνονες βροτῶν/ οἵ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες, *Hel.* 1194, *Ph.* 598, *Or.* 717f., *Bell.* fr. 285. 15 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): ὁ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδείς, διὰ τέλους δὲ δυστυχῶν, S. *Ai.* 1231, *El.* 677, *Ph.* 951, 1217, *Tereus* fr. 583. 1-3 R.: νῦν δ' οὐδέν εἰμι χωρίς. ἀλλὰ πολλάκις/ ἔβλεψα ταύτῃ τὴν γυναικείαν φύσιν,/ ὡς οὐδέν ἐσμεν, also Pi. *N.* 6. 3, Hdt. 9. 58.2, Ar. *Eq.* 158, *V.* 997. Cf. Moorhouse (1965) 31-35, 38f. and for the parallel use of *μηδείς*, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 2. 8.

ὄλβιοι: 'prosperous'; here, as commonly in Euripides, it refers to material possessions (cf. *Med.* 740, *Andr.* 940, *Hec.* 493, *Hel.* 431, *Pha.* fr. 776 Kn., *Phrixus* fr. 825 Kn. and McDonald 1978, 304f., De Heer 1969, 70f.). Cf. Sol. fr. 6 W., Thgn. 1. 153, A. *Pers.* 252, *Th.* 771, also 'blessed, fortunate' in general (Thgn. 1. 934, 2. 1253, Hdt. 1. 30-32, A. *Supp.* 526: ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, S. *El.* 160-162). *Olbos* tends to be associated with Oriental opulence (cf. *Hec.* 492, 925, *HF* 642f., *Tr.* 108f., 582, A. *Pers.* 252 and Hall 1989, 154-156, Easterling 1984, 36f.) and tyranny (cf. Sol. fr. 33 W., Pi. *P.* 3. 85-89, 11. 52f., Th. 1. 13.1 and O'Neil 1986, 28). Cf. also notes on fr. 15. 8 and *Dictys* fr. 2. 7. For the *olbos-penia* contrast, cf. *Supp.*

176f.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον/ πένητά τ' ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν, *HF* 588f.: πολλοὺς πένητας, ὀλβίους δὲ τῶι λόγωι, 647f., *Archelaus* fr. 230 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*): δυνάμεσθ'· ἔτι γὰρ θάλλει πενία/ κακὸν ἔχθιστον, φεύγει δ' ὄλβος, *Polyidus* fr. 641 Kn.

4 δόξαν φέρονται: 'they earn repute'; cf. for instance, *Med.* 540: δόξαν ἔσχες, *Hipp.* 432: δόξαν ἐσθλὴν καρπίζεται, *Hec.* 489, also Sol. frr. 13. 4, 13. 34 W., Pi. *O.* 8. 64: ποθεινοτάταν δόξαν φέρειν, Th. 2. 11: μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι.

νομίσματος: generally 'custom, institution' (cf. *IT* 1471, A. *Th.* 269, Ar. *Nu.* 248); here it bears the specific sense of 'coin, money' (cf. Hdt. 1. 94, 3. 56, 4. 166, Ar. *Ra.* 720, 722). The reference to currency and money in the treatment of a Heroic Age myth is an anachronism, as archaeological evidence indicates that the earliest development of coinage in Greece possibly occurred at the end of the seventh century (cf. Seaford 2004, 129-131 and Schaps 2004, 93-110). Cf. similarly the anachronistic reference to coinage in *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 29 Kn. As in several other cases in tragedy, the anachronism seems to be so firmly absorbed into the texture, that it remains oblique (cf. Lowe 1988, 41f., Easterling 1987, 7). Accordingly, *νόμισμα* may denote 'coin, currency', while alluding at the same time to the very conventions of the *polis,* which impose the acceptability of currency (cf. Arist. *EN* 1133A 19-33, *Pol.* 1257A 1- B 41 and Seaford 1998, 135f.); in *Oedipus* fr. 542 Kn. (οὗτοι νόμισμα λευκὸς ἄργυρος μόνον/ καὶ χρυσός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ κἀρετὴ βροτοῖς/ νόμισμα κεῖται πᾶσιν, ᾗ χρῆσθαι χρεών), for instance, the sense of *νόμισμα* ranges from the specific meaning of 'coins made of precious metal' to its general sense as 'institution' (cf. Easterling 1987, 7). Cf. however, the less oblique references to coins in satyr-play: *Cyc.* 160 (cf. Seaford 1984 and Ussher 1978, *ad loc.*), *Sciron* fr. 675 Kn. (where Silenus is trying to sell prostitutes for coins).

5 συμπλέκοντες: 'they join'; cf. *IA* 292 ('to bind together'), Th. 4.4 ('to join hands'), Pl. *Soph.* 242D 7, *Pol.* 309B 7, Strab. 10. 3.13 ('to connect'), Plb. 2. 45.2 ('to become intimate'). The middle usage of the verb is unattested, therefore *συμπλέκοντες* is preferable to *συμπλέκονται.*

καὶ . . . σπέρμα καὶ γάμους τέκνων: *σπέρμα* 'origin, descent' (cf. *Heracl.* 540, *IT* 980, *Ba.* 35, A. *Supp.* 275, S. *Ant.* 581), 'offspring' (cf. *Med.* 816, S. *El.* 1508), here apparently in the more general sense of 'breed', i.e. the wealthy class; cf. *Hec.* 254f.: ἀχάριστον ὑμῶν σπέρμ', ὅσοι δημηγόρους/ ζηλοῦτε τιμάς (and Collard 1991, *ad loc.*), *IA* 520: τὸ

μαντικὸν πᾶν σπέρμα φιλότιμον κακόν, fr. inc. 1012 Kn.: ἀεί ποτ' <ἐστὶ> σπέρμα κηρύκων λάλον. Cf. note on fr. 15. 6: θνητῶν σπέρμα ('mankind'). The function of the two *καὶ* is correponsive ('both their breed and the marriage of their children'); cf. Denniston (1954^2) 323f. Hence, *σπέρμα* and *γάμους τέκνων* are emphatic tautology.

6 δοῦναι: reference to an act of betrothal; the legal term is *ἐκδίδωμι* (cf. *Andr.* 343, [D.] xliii 54, Is. i 39. 6, Pl. *R.* 362B). Marriage in Athens was arranged between the father and the prospective son in-law with a form of contract known as *engyē*, a normal component of which was the fixing of the dowry. According to this contract, the woman passed from the *kyrieia* of her father under the tutelage of her husband, with the purpose of producing legitimate offspring. Cf. Hdt. 6. 130. 10-12: τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέι ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων, [D.] xlvi 18, Alexis *Epikleros* fr. 79 K.-A. (and Arnott 1996, 217f.) and Harrison (1968) II 3-9, Wolff (1944) 48-50, Just (1989) 43-49, Erdmann (1934) 267-276, cf. also note on fr. 4.2. Acts of betrothal are very common in Menander; cf. *Dysc.* 761-763 (and Handley 1965, *ad loc.*), 842-844: ἀλλ' ἐγγυῶ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι γνησίων/ τὴν θυγατέρ' ἤδη μειράκιόν σοι προῖκά τε/ δίδωμ' ἐπ' αὐτῆι τρία τάλαντα, *Peric.* 1013-1015 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 531): ταύτην γνησίων/ παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι σοι δίδωμι./ -λαμβάνω– καὶ προῖκα τρία τάλαντα, *Sam.* 726-728 (and Bain 1983, *ad loc.*), *Mis.* 444f.

κακῷ: here 'of low birth', as opposed to *κἀγαθῷ* ('well-born') of the next line. Both adjectives here commend the traditional qualities of *aretē*. In l. 8, however, the sense of *κακός* is detached from the notion of lineage, denoting baseness due to poverty. For the range of nuances of *kakos*, cf. notes on ll. 1-5 and *Dictys* fr. 4.2.

8 A case of chiastic anadiplosis at the point of the caesura. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 3: *si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae*, Ov. *Met.* 6. 376: *quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere temptant* and Lausberg (1998) 278.

κακὸς δ' ὁ μὴ ἔχων: *synizēsis* of η with ε, producing a long syllable. *Κακός* occurs here in the sense of 'worthless, insignificant', because of one's ineffectiveness to contribute to public life, which deprives one of prestige; cf. Adkins (1972) 38-41. Cf. Anon. Iambl. 3. 11-13 D.-K. (and Den Boer 1979, 174f.): κακία προσγίγνεται μετὰ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν χρημάτων, ἐὰν ἐκ πλουσίου πένης γένηται καὶ ἐκ κεκτημένου μηδὲν ἔχων, where *kakia* (here 'ruin') is identified with *penia*. Cf. Hemelrijk (1925) 21 and for further references, note on ll. 1-5.

οἱ δ' ἔχοντες † ὄλβιοι: Hense aptly observed that in this context *ὄλβιοι* is a synonym of *οἱ ἔχοντες*, while what is needed is an antonym of *κακός* (here 'base, worthless'). His emendation *εὐγενεῖς* can be supported by *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 14f. Kn.: ἔχειν δὲ πειρῶ· τοῦτο γὰρ τό τ' εὐγενὲς/ καὶ τοὺς γάμους δίδωσι τοὺς πρώτους ἔχειν (cf. West 1983, 72) and would offer an interesting redefinition of the notion of *εὐγένεια*, as compared to its use in l. 1, while corresponding to the successive antitheseis of the passage. West's conjecture *οὐκέτι* (cf. *loc. cit.*) is palaeographically attractive.

Fr. 10:

The allegation that nobody can resist money (*ἀνήρ* seems to be used here in a generalizing sense, cf. note *ad loc.*) is consistent with the argument of frr. 7-9 for the overwhelming power of wealth and for its being a prerequisite for love. Hence, these lines could have been uttered by the same speaker, i.e. possibly Acrisius, in the context of a formal debate, in which he may have accused Danae of having been bribed with gold to be seduced (cf. introductory note on fr. 8).

1 κρείσσων χρημάτων: cf. Th. 2. 60.5f. (and schol. vet. *ad loc.*, also Gomme, Andrewes and Dover 1945-1981 and Hornblower 1991, *ad loc.*): φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων and 2. 65.8: χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος, with reference to Pericles' integrity. The theme of bribery and corruption is recurrent in Athenian society and politics; cf. its reflection in *Supp.* 236, S. *Ant.* 302f., *OT* 124f., X. *Mem.* 1. 5.6 and for more detail, cf. Harvey (1985) 89-113, Wankel (1982) 29-47, Schaps (2004) 129-131. For the corrupting power of wealth, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 15. 2.

οὐδεὶς ἀνήρ: here in the generalizing sense of 'no one', rather than 'no man', presumably including Danae among people who cannot resist wealth, on the basis of the false accusation against her. Cf. particularly *Hyps.* fr. 760 Kn. (and Bond 1964, *ad loc.*): ἔξω γὰρ ὀργῆς πᾶς ἀνὴρ σοφώτερος, which is evidently uttered with reference to Eurydice, and its generalizing use in *Or.* 1523: πᾶς ἀνήρ, κἂν δοῦλος ἦι τις, ἥδεται τὸ φῶς ὁρῶν, *Meleagros* fr. 532 Kn.: κατθανὼν δὲ πᾶς ἀνὴρ/ γῆ καὶ σκιά.

2 πλὴν εἴ τις: to the parallels cited by Kannicht (*TrGF* V,1 377: Ar. *Av.* 601, *Th.* 531f., X. *Hell.* 4. 2.21), I would add [D.] x 39.3, xl 3.4, D. xviii 320.5, xxi 158.3: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ, πλὴν εἰ ταῦτά τις θεωρεῖ, xxiv 42.5, 67.6, lxi 3.6: ἴστε γὰρ πάνθ' ὡς ἐγένετο, πλὴν εἴ τι παρέλιπον, Is. iv 29.5: οὔτε εἰσφορὰν οὐδεμίαν εἰσενήνοχε, πλὴν εἴ τι ἄρα ἐξ ὅτου τῶν Νικοστράτου ἠμφεσβήτησεν, Pl. *Apol.* 18C 2, *Pol.* 286D, *R.* 366D 1: οἶδεν ὅτι πλὴν εἴ τις θείᾳ φύσει δυσχεραίνων τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἢ ἐπιστήμην λαβὼν ἀπέχεται αὐτοῦ, τῶν γε ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν δίκαιος. Unlike the cited examples, which introduce a genuine modification, usually slight, in our fragment the conditional clause is not continued and the apparent concession is undermined ('except somebody—but I do not see who that person is').

Fr. 10a:

This testimony has been widely associated with fr. 10 and it has been aptly suggested that a possible interpolation of *εἷς τις* and *ἐρῶ* in the place of *εἴ τις* and *ὁρῶ* may have given ground to Satyrus' inference.[218] The similarity (only one person = except Socrates) and the reference to *πλεονεξία* are suggestive, though considering how much of the *Danae* is missing, it cannot be absolutely ruled out that Satyrus may be referring to a completely lost passage of the play.

Euripides' association with Socrates is reported in anecdotal, biographical and comic contexts; cf. Ar. *Ra.* 1491f. (and Dover 1993, *ad loc.*), Ael. *V.H.* 2. 13.41-47, Gell. *N.A.* 15. 20, Sud. ε 3695 (Adler). Moreover, the comic passages in Ar. *Clouds I* fr. 392 K.-A., Teleclides fr. inc. 41 K.-A., Callias *Pedetae* fr. 15 K.-A., as well as *Vit. Eur. TrGF* V,1 Test. A1 IA 9-12 go even further by presenting Socrates as having contributed to the composition of Euripides' plays.[219] The dramatist was evidently interested in his contemporary intellectual activity, such as the sophistic movement (cf. notes on fr. 11. 4-7, *Dictys* fr. 14. 2-4), rhetoric (cf. introductory notes on *Dictys* frr. 2, 4), natural philosophy (cf. note on fr. 15. 2) and perhaps Socratic theories as well; cf. Egli's survey (2003, 164-178) of Euripidean passages thought to reflect Socratic doctrines (cf.

[218] Cf. von Arnim (1913) 4, followed by Arrighetti (1964) 115, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 66, n. 34 and Kannicht *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*

[219] For a collection of all relevant references, cf. Ippolito (1999) 37-42, Egli (2003) 157-163, Arrighetti (1964) 113-115.

especially *Hipp.* 380-383 and *Chrys.* fr. 841 Kn., possibly also *Med.* 1078-1080, studied in relation to Socrates' definition of incontinence, as expressed in Pl. *Prt.* 352D 5- 353C 2 and X. *Mem.* 3. 9.4).[220] Ancient biography, however, to the context of which Satyrus' work belongs, tends to approach poetic passages by a process of inference and oversimplification, mainly aiming to draw biographical material from a poet's own work, as well as from anecdotes.[221] It is thus self-evident that a personal reference to Socrates would be completely out of place in a tragic play and that Satyrus' testimony about Euripides' expression of personal admiration for him is obviously based on the arbitrary interpretation perhaps of fr. 10 [222] (for the practice of interpreting tragic passages as expressing the poet's own view in ancient criticism and biography, cf. note on T1). An eloquent parallel occurs in D.L. 2. 44, where Euripides is alleged to have alluded to Socrates' death in *Palamedes* fr. 588 Kn., which was proved false by Philochorus (*FGrH* 328 F 221), as Euripides died before Socrates: Εὐριπίδης δὲ καὶ ὀνειδίζει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Παλαμήδει λέγων 'ἐκάνετ' ἐκάνετε τὰν πάνσοφον, <ὦ Δαναοί,> τὰν οὐδὲν ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα μουσᾶν'. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε. Φιλόχορος δέ φησι προτελευτῆσαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην τοῦ Σωκράτους.

Fr. 11:

These lines and fr. 12 contest the position of fr. 9 on the high status of the wealthy class, with reference to its public, private and religious activity. The argument for the superiority of wealth and, in turn, for the power of money over love (frr. 7-10, of which Acrisius seems to be the likeliest speaker, cf. introductory note on fr. 8) is here refuted by the party defending the opposite view in the possible *agōn*, evidently in an effort to release Danae from the probable accusation that she was bribed with gold to be seduced. As argued above (cf. introductory note on fr. 8), the likeliest candidate for this sympathetic role would be Danae herself. The present fragment seems to be a reply to the argument of fr. 9 on the social impact

[220] Cf. additionally Ippolito (1999) 41f., Irwin (1983) 183-197.
[221] For Satyrus' method, cf. Arrighetti (1993) 232-234, (1987) 145f., 164-167, Dihle (1956) 105f., Momigliano (1993) 70 and for this trend of ancient biographers in general, Lefkowitz (1981) viii-x, 88-104, Fairweather (1974) 232-275, Lefkowitz (1978) 465-467.
[222] So Arrighetti (1993) 233.

of wealthy people and the reference to their religious activity (l. 6f.) may have aimed to refute a possible allegation of the opponent that the wealthy are more pious than the poor, as they offer rich sacrifice. The further development of the argument as to their conduct in the religious sphere in fr. 12. 3 seems also to favour this possibility.

Here, as in fr. 9, the successive antitheseis display rhetorical elaboration: φιλοῦσι βροτοί — ἐγὼ δέ (the speaker's position, as opposed to public opinion), ὀλβίων — πένης, σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους — εὖ λέγῃ (distinction between seeming and being), also σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους — γελᾶν (contrasting reactions), μικρὰ θύοντας τέλη — τῶν βουθυτούντων.

1-4: The speaker addresses the question of the status of the wealthy class (as alleged in fr. 9) by referring to its public activity. Class-consciousness in Athens lay in the distinction between rich (the élite) and poor (the basis of the *dēmos*, cf. note on l. 3). The passage alludes to the continuing deference to wealth and status and the disproportionate influence of the leisured class on the public life of democratic Athens; in terms of political participation, for instance, the élite was heavily overrepresented in the set of all politically active citizens by employing personal networking and material contributions to the state (cf. Connor 1971, 18-22, Ober 1989, 85f., 116-118, Hunter 1988, 29, Finley 1983, 83). Our speaker, on the other hand, supports the *sophia* and *eusebeia* of members of the *dēmos*. Similarly, in the gathering of the Argives in *Or.* 884-945 (cf. Porter 1994, 73-76, Willink 1986, 224), the equivalent of the *πένης ἀνήρ* of our fragment is the prudent and righteous farmer (917-930), who is again distinguished from the wealthy class (887-897), as well as from the demagogue, who manipulates the mob (902-916). Accordingly, Athenagoras, the democratic leader of Syracuse, points out that the wealthy may be the best guardians of property, but the best councellors are the intelligent and the best at judging arguments are the many (Th. 6. 38.5).

In a different light, Socrates disapproves of the participation of the many in political decisions, in view of their lack of expert knowledge (Pl. *Prt.* 319D): ἐπειδὰν δέ τι περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως δέῃ βουλεύσασθαι, συμβουλεύει αὐτοῖς ἀνιστάμενος περὶ τούτων ὁμοίως μὲν τέκτων, ὁμοίως δὲ χαλκεὺς σκυτοτόμος, ἔμπορος ναύκληρος, πλούσιος, πένης, γενναῖος, ἀγεννής, καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς τοῦτο ἐπιπλήττει ὥσπερ τοῖς πρότερον, ὅτι οὐδαμόθεν μαθών, οὐδὲ ὄντος διδασκάλου οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα συμβουλεύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ.

1 φιλοῦσι γάρ . . . βροτοί: 'people tend to...'; reference to the *communis opinio*. Cf. S. *Ai.* 988f.: τοῖς θανοῦσί τοι/ φιλοῦσι πάντες κειμένοις ἐπεγγελᾶν, Mimn. fr. 24 W., Pl. *R.* 549E. It frequently describes mass behaviour; cf. *Heracl.* 176 (and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*): μηδ' ὅπερ φιλεῖτε δρᾶν, Th. 2. 65.4: ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν, 4. 28.3: οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν (and Hornblower 1991, *ad loc.*), 6. 63.2, 8. 1.4.

τῶν μὲν ὀλβίων: 'wealthy', as opposed to *πένης* (l. 3), cf. *τῶν πλουσίων* (l. 5) and note on fr. 9.3. Thucydides repeatedly attaches the term *οἱ δυνατοί* to the social and political élite; cf. 1. 24.5, 2. 65.2, 3. 27.3, 5. 4.3, 8. 73.2 and for further references, Lintott (1982) 92-94, cf. also Ehrenberg (1969^2) 90. The earliest testimony of class conflict occurs in Sol. fr. 5 W.

2 σοφοὺς τίθεσθαι τοὺς λόγους: *τίθεσθαι* (here, 'to assume, hold, reckon, regard') is Valckenaer's emendation of the unmetrical reading *ἡγεῖσθαι* of the manuscript tradition. It seems to be preferable to Blaydes' *νομίζειν*, as it accounts for the intrusion of *ἡγεῖσθαι*, which may have been a gloss specifying the sense of *τίθεσθαι* in this context (*νομίζειν*, on the other hand, does not need clarification). Cf. *Med.* 572f.: τὰ λῷστα καὶ κάλλιστα πολεμιώτατα/ τίθεσθε, *Hec.* 848: φίλους τιθέντες τούς γε πολεμιωτάτους, *Andr.* 210, *Tr.* 288: φίλα τὰ πρότερ' ἄφιλα τιθέμενος πάλιν. The choice of this verb suggests that the words of the *olbioi* are merely regarded as wise, without being necessarily so; the basic sophistic distinction between seeming and being. Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III 179-181.

3 λεπτῶν ἀπ' οἴκων: 'small, weak, of slender means'; cf. *PMG* fr. adesp. 69d.1: λεπτῶς μεριμνῶντες/ πένονται, Thphr. *Ch.* 26. 5, Men. *Mon.* 442 (Jäkel): λεπτῶς γέ τοι ζῆν κρεῖσσον ἢ λαμπρῶς κακῶς, Plb. 24. 7: οἱ λεπτοί ('the poor'), *Cent.* 3. 59: λεπτὴν πλέκειν· ἐπὶ τῶν πενιχρῶν τοῦτο λέγεται, Sud. λ 292 (Adler): λεπτὰ ξαίνεις· ἐπὶ τῶν πενιχρῶς διαγόντων τὸν βίον. Nauck suggested the rare word *λειτῶν* ('poor'), which is used by Menander, according to Photius (λ 154 Theodorides), by Timon of Phlius (Athen. 4. 50.18-22) and in *A.P.* 6. 226, 303, 7. 472. It would be unwise, however, to replace the transmitted reading, especially when it is acceptable, with a rare word, which on the basis of our evidence first occurs in Menander.

εὖ λέγῃ: here suggestive of a skilled and prudent speaker; cf. *Or.* 930: καὶ τοῖς γε χρηστοῖς εὖ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο, *Ba.* 266f. (and Dodds 1960^2$_b$, *ad loc.*): ὅταν λάβῃ τις τῶν λόγων ἀνὴρ σοφὸς/ καλὰς ἀφορμάς, οὐ μέγ' ἔργον εὖ λέγειν, *Autolycus* fr. 282. 26f. Kn. Eloquence

is regarded as a virtue of civic usefulness in Aeschines iii 170 (τέταρτον εὐγνώμονα καὶ δυνατὸν εἰπεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν προαιρεῖσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τὸν λόγον πείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας) and Anon. Iambl. 1.1, 3.1 D.-K. In many cases in Euripides, however, *εὖ λέγειν* (merely in the sense of 'eloquence', excluding the content of the speech) is conceived as opposed to truth and justice; cf. *Hipp.* 503, *Hec.* 1191, *Ph.* 526 (and Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*), *Archelaus* fr. 253 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*), *Palamedes* fr. 583 Kn., *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 80f.) and for more detail, Jouan (1984) 7-10 and note on *Dictys* fr. 5.

πένης: poor are those citizens who labour for their living, such as the peasants, labourers, shopkeepers, self-employed artisans, hence, the bulk of the population, which form the basis of the *dēmos* (cf. X. *Mem.* 4. 2.37f., Pl. *R.* 565A). They are to be distinguished from the rich (the leisured class, living comfortably on the labour of others, cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1291B 7, 1310A 3-10) and from the paupers (πτωχοί, the beggars, the idlers, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 549-554, where personified Πενία denies being sister of Πτωχεία). Cf. Finley (1983) 10f., Nippel (1980) 103-105, Finley (1985^2) 41, Wood and Wood (1978) 43.

4-7: a poor man can be more pious in his religious conduct and wiser than an *olbios* both in his private and public life. It is noteworthy that cardinal virtues of civic usefulness, such as *εὖ λέγειν, σοφία* and *εὐσέβεια* (cf. North 1966_b, 168-170), are attributes of the *πένης ἀνήρ* of the present fragment. For the public role of all classes and the significance of a quiet moral behaviour in the field of civic activity, cf. *Supp.* 406-408 (and Collard 1975_a, 218f.), *Or.* 920-922: αὐτουργός, οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σώιζουσι γῆν,/ ξυνετὸς δέ, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων,/ ἀκέραιον ἀνεπίπληκτον ἠσκηκὼς βίον, *Aeolus* fr. 21 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 7 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), *Pleisthenes* fr. 626. 1f. Kn.: δήμῳ δὲ μήτε πᾶν ἀναρτήσῃς κράτος/ μήτ' αὖ κακώσῃς, πλοῦτον ἔντιμον τιθείς, Th. 2. 37.1: οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται. For the corrupting power of wealth in public affairs, cf. Ar. *Pl.* 567-570: σκέψαι τοίνυν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τοὺς ῥήτορας, ὡς ὁπόταν μὲν/ ὦσι πένητες, περὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ δίκαιοι,/ πλουτήσαντες δ' ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν παραχρῆμ' ἄδικοι γεγένηνται,/ ἐπιβουλεύουσί τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσιν.

4 γελᾶν: for heckling and jeering at public speakers, cf. X. *Mem.* 3. 7.8: οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι πολλάκις οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ὀρθῶς

λεγόντων καταγελᾶν; also *Hell.* 6. 5.36, D. xix 23, 46, Aeschin. i 80-84, Pl. *Prt.* 319C and Hansen (1987) 70f.

σοφωτέρους: 'wise, prudent'; *sophia* in this context is closely related to the notion of *sōphrosynē,* which encompasses in Euripides the ideas of good sense, self-control and moderation (cf. North 1966_a, 69-84). *Sōphrosynē* and justice constitute the features of a quiet moral behaviour, which assists in the good administration of one's *oikos* and renders the citizen useful to the *polis.* Cf. Adkins (1970) 104f., Adkins (1960) 177f., 195-198, North (1966_b) 168-170, Dover (1974) 296-298. *Sophia* seems to comprise here also the gift of eloquence, which is mentioned in l. 3 among the qualities of *πένης ἀνήρ,* cf. *Ph.* 1259f.: ἀλλ', εἴ τιν' ἀλκὴν ἢ σοφοὺς ἔχεις λόγους/ ἢ φίλτρ' ἐπωιδῶν, *Antiope* fr. 189 Kn.: ἐκ παντὸς ἄν τις πράγματος δισσῶν λόγων/ ἀγῶνα θεῖτ' ἄν, εἰ λέγειν εἴη σοφός, fr. 202 Kn.

For *sophia* as a virtue in private life, cf. *Heracl.* 558, *Hipp.* 436, *Supp.* 176f.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον/ πένητά τ' ἐς τοὺς πλουσίους ἀποβλέπειν, *Ion* 598, *Aeolus* fr. 37 Kn.: μοχθεῖν ἀνάγκη· τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας/ ὅστις φέρει κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος σοφός, *Alcmene* fr. 99 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 46 Kn.: πάντων τὸ θανεῖν· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχος/ μετρίως ἀλγεῖν σοφία μελετᾷ, *Hyps.* fr. 760 Kn. and as a civic virtue, cf. *Autolycus* fr. 282. 23-25 Kn.: ἄνδρας χρὴ σοφούς τε κἀγαθοὺς/ φύλλοις στέφεσθαι, χὥστις ἡγεῖται πόλει/ κάλλιστα σώφρων καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἀνήρ, *Antiope* fr. 200 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 58f.): γνώμαις γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εὖ μὲν οἰκοῦνται πόλεις,/ εὖ δ' οἶκος, εἵς τ' αὖ πόλεμον ἰσχύει μέγα·/ σοφὸν γὰρ ἕν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας/ νικᾷ, σὺν ὄχλῳ δ' ἀμαθία πλεῖστον κακόν.

5 εἰσορῶ: here 'to look on with the mind's eye, to perceive' (*LSJ*^{9}). If the speaker is Danae, as she seems to be, the verb would indicate a mental process (she would have not seen it with her own eyes, since she cannot participate in public discourses). Cf. S. *El.* 997, *Ph.* 501, fr. inc. 923 R.: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁρῶντες εἰσορῶσι τἀμφανῆ.

7 τῶν βουθυτούντων: 'those who sacrifice oxen'; a very expensive kind of sacrifice (cf. Jameson 1988, 93-98, 107-112). Cf. schol. Tz. Ar. *Pl.* 819 (Positano): βουθυτεῖ· καταχρηστικῶς εἴρηται ἡ βουθυσία δηλοῦσα τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τὸ ἐντελὲς τῆς θυσίας, ἣν ἑκατόμβην καλοῦσιν. ἐντελὴς δὲ θυσία ἡ ἐκ συὸς τράγου κριοῦ, ἣν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσι τριττύν, *Alc.* 1156: βωμούς τε κνισᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς, *Hec.* 260f., *El.* 635, 785, 805, *Ion* 664, 1031, *Hel.* 1474, *Auge* fr. 268 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 94 Kn., also Pi. *O.* 5. 6, *N.* 10. 23, A. *Supp.* 706, *Ch.* 261, S. *OC* 888, 1495, Ar. *Av.* 1232f.:

μηλοσφαγεῖν τε βουθύτοις ἐπ' ἐσχάραις/ κνισᾶν τ' ἀγυιάς, *Pl.* 819f.: καὶ νῦν ὁ δεσπότης μὲν ἔνδον βουθυτεῖ/ ὗν καὶ τράγον καὶ κριὸν ἐστεφανωμένος, Men. *Dysc.* 474 (and Handley 1965, *ad loc.*).

The richness of offerings was evidently proportional to one's possessions and thus a matter of status. Hence, *βουθυσία* was restricted to the wealthy class; cf. especially Thphr. *Char.* 21. 7 (regarding *βουθυτεῖν* as a feature of *μικροφιλοτιμία* 'petty ambition' and Diggle 2004, 408): καὶ βοῦν θύσας τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν, ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε. *A.P.* 6. 191 (and Page 1981, 67): σὺ δ', ὡς νούσου, ῥύεο καὶ πενίης,/ καὶ τότε βουθυτέοντά μ' ἐσόψεαι, 6. 190 (and Page 1981, 52), 6. 300, Ath. 4. 61.26-33 (with reference to the extravagance of Tarantinoi) and Adkins (1960) 134f., Seaford (2004) 162f.

εὐσεβεστέρους: 'pious, reverent'; in fifth-century literature apart from referring merely to the god-man relationship, it also commends those who honour the relationships which the gods are believed to uphold (namely kinship ties and relationships between the state and those bound to it, such as the protection of suppliants, cf. A. *Supp.* 419, *Th.* 598, 602, 831, S. *Tr.* 1222, *El.* 464 and Adkins 1960, 132-134). In view of the context of sacrifice, *eusebeia* here primarily reflects the religious feeling. In addition, fr. 12.3f. (developing the present argument on the detachment of *eusebeia* from wealth and hecatombs) maintains that greediness leads one to assault not only gods, but also kin, which is an attitude opposed to *eusebeia* in its dimension as a quiet moral virtue as well. For *eusebeia* and *sōphrosynē* as civic virtues, cf. Isoc. x 31.

The position that *eusebeia* is not proportional to the greatness of one's offerings to the gods recurs in fr. inc. 946 Kn.: εὖ ἴσθ', ὅταν τις εὐσεβῶν θύῃ θεοῖς,/ κἂν μικρὰ θύῃ, τυγχάνει σωτηρίας. Here, as in our passage, gods are regarded as capable of looking beyond the costliness of offerings to the piety which motivates the giver and are thus conceived as agents of justice and upholders of quiet moral virtues. Cf. similarly Isoc. ii 20, Antiphanes *Mystis* fr. 162 K.-A.: ταῖς εὐτελείαις οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι γάρ·/ τεκμήριον δ'· ὅταν γὰρ ἑκατόμβας τινὲς/ θύωσιν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ὕστατος/... πάντων καὶ λιβανωτὸς ἐπετέθη,/ ὡς τἄλλα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ παραναλούμενα/ δαπάνην ματαίαν οὖσαν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα,/ τὸ δὲ μικρὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀρεστὸν τοῖς θεοῖς, X. *Mem.* 1. 3.3: οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον, Men. fr. inc. 1001 K.-A., Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 344, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 23.13-20 (and West 2002, 191f.): *te nihil attinet/ temptare multa caede bidentium/ parvos coronantem marino/ rore deos*

fragilique myrto./ immunis aram si tetigit manus,/ non sumptuosa blandior hostia/ mollivit aversos Penatis/ farre pio et saliente mica and Adkins (1960) 65f., 132-134, Dover (1974) 253f., 258, Yunis (1988) 54f. and n. 38, 101-109, Dodds (1951) 48f. On the other hand, reciprocal allegiance suits the idea of non-moral gods, who must be won over in a non-moral way with abundance of offerings; this is a basic feature of shame-culture, where gods, like men, are very touchy with regard to their *timē* and the attention which must be paid, in order to acknowledge it; cf. *Il.* 1. 65, 9. 498, 536f., 20. 297-299, *Od.* 1. 60-62, Bacch. 3. 61, Hdt. 1.87 and Adkins (1960) 62-64, 134f., Dodds (1951) 29-32, Frisch (1949) 51.

Fr. 12:

This fragment coheres very closely with fr. 11. 4-7, developing the argument against the association of *sōphrosynē* and piety with wealth; the speaker asserts that it is wealthy people who lack moderation (l. 2) and are prone to transgress religious and kinship laws (l. 3f.), having been corrupted by greed and avarice, as opposed to the *sophia* and *eusebeia* of less prosperous people (expressed in fr. 11. 4-7). This position may be refuting an argument of the opponent that poverty is likely to cause misconduct through need (for this common idea, cf. Dover 1974, 109f. and note on *Dictys* fr. 15.2). Again the likeliest speaker seems to be Danae defending herself from the possible accusation of bribery presumably addressed to her by Acrisius (cf. introductory notes on frr. 8, 11).

For denouncements of avarice, cf. *Antiope* fr. 198 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 53): εἰ δ' εὐτυχῶν τις καὶ βίον κεκτημένος/ μηδὲν δόμοισι τῶν καλῶν θηράσεται,/ ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὔποτ' ὄλβιον καλῶ,/ φύλακα δὲ μᾶλλον χρημάτων εὐδαίμονα, also *Ino* fr. 407 Kn., X. *Symp.* 4. 35, Antiphanes fr. inc. 244 K.-A., Apollodorus *Philadelphoi/ Apocarterōn* fr. 3 K.-A., Menander fr. inc. 734 K.-A. Greed is considered to drive to *hybris* and injustice; cf. for instance, Sol. frr. 4. 5-16, 13. 43-48, 71-73, 36. 20-22 W. (and Balot 2001, 79-81, 89-91), Th. 3. 39.4, 4. 17.4, D. xlv 67 and note on *Dictys* fr. 15.2.

1 πληρουμένοις: 'filled full', in the sense of profusion and luxury; cf. *Ba.* 19: πλήρεις ἔχουσα καλλιπυργώτους πόλεις, *HF* 645: χρυσοῦ δώματα πλήρη, S. *Inachus* fr. 275. 808f. R.: ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου/ τὰ σκευάρια πλήρη 'στιν, ὥστε θαυμάσαι, often used for food (cf. *Cyc.* 209, *Med.* 203, *Hipp.* 110, *Cressae* fr. 467 Kn., *Antiope* fr.

213. 3 Kn. and Kambitsis 1972, 16, S. fr. inc. 848 R.) and sacrifice (cf. *Alc.* 134, *Hec.* 527, *Ion* 1091, fr. inc. 912. 5 Kn., S. *Ant.* 1017).

2 γαστρὸς δ' ἀφαιρῶν: 'depriving one's stomach of what is necessary'. *Γαστήρ* generally conveys the idea of gross overeating (cf. *Cyc.* 334f. and Seaford 1984, *ad loc.*, *Antiope* fr. 201 Kn. and Kambitsis 1972, 62-65, fr. inc. 915 Kn. parodied in Diphilus' *Parasitos* fr. 60 K.-A., also Alexis *Asōtodidascalos* fr. 25. 6 K.-A. and Arnott 1996, *ad loc.* and for this idea in comedy, cf. Wilkins 2000, 24-28). For suggestions of moderation in diet, cf. *Supp.* 865f. (and Collard 1975$_a$, 326): οὐ γὰρ ἐν γαστρὸς βορᾶι/ τὸ χρηστὸν εἶναι, μέτρια δ' ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφη, *Ino* fr. 413. 4 Kn.: γαστρὸς κρατεῖν, *Autolycus* fr. 282. 5 Kn., also Thgn. 1. 485f., Alexis *Synapothnēscontes* fr. 212 K.-A., X. *Hell.* 5. 3.21, *Oec.* 9. 11, *Cyr.* 1. 2.8, *Mem.* 1. 2.1, 1. 5.1, 2. 6.1, Men. *Mon.* 137, 425 (Jäkel). The situation mentioned here is the opposite extreme of overeating (diminishing the needs of the stomach); cf. Theoc. 21. 41: τᾶς γαστρὸς ἐφειδόμεθ'. Hence, avarice entails lack of moderation and good sense, which is consistent with fr. 11. 4f. presenting *sōphrosynē* as the attribute of less prosperous people.

δύστηνος: here 'wretched and pitiable', as in *El.* 924 ('wretched and pitiable', in view of the misery of the inevitable disillusionment, cf. Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*): δύστηνός ἐστιν, εἰ δοκεῖ τὸ σωφρονεῖν / ἐκεῖ μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔχειν, παρ' οἷ δ' ἔχειν, *HF* 1346 (and Bond 1981, *ad loc.*): ἀοιδῶν οἵδε δύστηνοι λόγοι. In Sophocles it denotes 'dis hominibusque invisus' (Ellendt s.v. 'δύστηνος'); cf. *Ai.* 1290, *El.* 121 (and March 2001, *ad loc.*): παῖ δυστανοτάτας/ Ἠλέκτρα ματρός, *Ph.* 1016.

3 νομίζω: often employed in argumentation to draw emphasis on the opinion expressed; cf. *Dictys* fr. 7.1 (and note *ad loc.*), *Med.* 526-528: ἐγὼ δὲ [...] / Κύπριν νομίζω τῆς ἐμῆς ναυκληρίας/ σώτειραν εἶναι θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων μόνην, *HF* 282, *Ion* 645, *IT* 484, *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn.: ὃς δ' εὐγλωσσίᾳ / νικᾷ, σοφὸς μέν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὰ πράγματα / κρείσσω νομίζω τῶν λόγων ἀεί ποτε, fr. inc. 959 Kn.: ἐγὼ δ' / οὐδὲν πρεσβύτερον / νομίζω τᾶς σωφροσύνας,/ ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀεὶ ξύνεστι, also A. *Pers.* 169, Ar. *V.* 1067, *Nu.* 1366, Antiphon Soph. 3. 19 D.-K., Men. *Dysc.* 271. Cf. its frequent use in oratory; for instance, Antiphon vi 1.5, D. xiv 3, xv 11, 28, xx 57, xxiii 126, Isoc. vii 72, xii 199. It is occasionally found as strongly nuanced in Thucydides, expressing a substantiated opinion; cf. Th. 1. 1.2, 1. 10.3, 1. 21.1 (and Huart 1968, 272).

συλᾶν: 'to plunder, to despoil, to pillage'; the closest parallel is A. *Pers.* 809f.: οἳ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη/ ἤδοῦντο συλᾶν

οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς, where *συλᾶν* seems to involve the robbing of the precious metals and stones with which the statues were adorned (cf. Broadhead 1960, *ad loc.*). Cf. Hdt. 6. 118.6: εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν νηὶ Φοινίσσῃ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κεχρυσωμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν σεσυλημένον εἴη, and for further usages of the verb, *Heracl.* 243 (carrying off suppliants from the altar, cf. Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), *Hipp.* 799 (robbing of fortune), *IT* 158, *Tr.* 791 ('to deprive from a beloved person'), *Ion* 917 ('to be caught as prey'), *Hel.* 600, 669 ('to seize as booty'). The plundering of the statues of gods is here conceived as an act of *hybris* bred by greed; cf. Th. 3. 45.4 (and Balot 2001, 158f.), 1. 38.5, 84.2, D. xxi 98, X. *Cyr.* 8. 4.14 and Dover (1974) 110f.

βρέτη: 'the wooden image of a god'; cf. *Alc.* 974, *Heracl.* 936, *El.* 1254, *IT* 980, 1165, also A. *Th.* 96, 185, *Eum.* 80, 242, Ar. *Eq.* 31f., *Lys.* 262.

4 τοῖς φιλτάτοις τε πολέμιον πεφυκέναι: resolution of the third *longum*, not chronologically distinctive (cf. Cropp and Fick 1985, 44f., 47, classifying it as resolution-type 6.1e); cf. note on fr. 8.4. For the idea that greed drives to the transgression of kinship ties, cf. *Heracl.* 3f.: ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνειμένον/ φίλοις τ' ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάξαι βαρύς, *Ixion* fr. 425 Kn.: ὅστις γὰρ ἀστῶν πλέον ἔχειν πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,/ {οὐδὲν φρονεῖ δίκαιον οὐδὲ βούλεται,} / φίλοις τ' ἄμικτός ἐστι καὶ πάσῃ πόλει, D. xxvii 65, Isoc. ii 5: τοὺς δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠναγκασμένους (because of the pursuit of wealth). Most cases of dispute between kin seem to have involved matters of property; cf. Lys. xxxii, Is. i-iii, v-xi, D. xxvii-xxix, xliv, [D.] xl (and Humphreys 1989, 182-185), xliii and Hunter (1994) 43-69, Cohen (1995) 163-180, Christ (1998) 169-173. It is also worth noting that most of the disputants were members of the propertied class (cf. Hunter 1994, 51f.), which is congruent with the idea of the fragment that wealth engenders greed and *hybris*. For the strife between half-siblings over paternal inheritance, cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 6. 3.

Fr. 13:

The speaker is clearly Danae imploring her father not to separate her from her baby son, by appealing to the baby's physical appearance and habits and the joy which one derives from them. It has been suggested that this

plea could have arisen from Acrisius' intention of killing Perseus,[223] possibly through reminiscence of the oracle (for an exploration of its role, cf. note on fr. 16), but perhaps also because of the baby's illegitimate status (cf. the illegitimate babies in the *Alope, Melanippe the Wise* and *Auge* punished with exposure by their grandfathers, Plot-Structure, p. 28f.). Lucian's description of Danae's supplication to her father, which is reminiscent of these lines, tells in favour of Acrisius' planning to kill baby Perseus (*D. Mar.* 12. 2): ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν ἐσίγα, ὦ Δωρί, καὶ ἔφερε τὴν καταδίκην. τὸ βρέφος δὲ παρῃτεῖτο μὴ ἀποθανεῖν δακρύουσα καὶ τῷ πάππῳ δεικνύουσα αὐτὸ κάλλιστον ὄν. According to Lucian, who may have been inspired by this scene of the *Danae* in his dialogue (for this possibility, cf. note on T5), Danae asks nothing for herself, but only implores her father not to kill the child. Her act of courage is praised probably by the chorus-leader in fr. 14 with the use of the vocabulary of self-sacrifice (cf. introductory note *ad loc.*). With her plea, she appears to have managed to commute the punishment from death for the baby to exposure in the sea for both of them.[224] Acrisius' final decision to cast them adrift may have also been motivated by his effort to avoid the pollution of killing the child, thus choosing exposure as veiled infanticide.[225] By enclosing mother and son in the chest and casting it adrift, Acrisius reasserts his control over his daughter by imposing spatial confinement on her (cf. note on fr. 6.2), while sending, at the same time, the dangerous child to be carried far away in unbounded space.[226]

This scene would have reasonably been located after the *agōn* possibly between Danae and Acrisius (frr. 8-12), in which she could have argued in defence of herself and her child against her father's accusation that she was bribed with gold to be seduced (cf. introductory note on fr. 8). If the *agōn* was a 'trial-debate', it would have ended presumably with Acrisius' strong condemnation of Danae's illicit motherhood and perhaps the announcement of the penalty (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 23f.) .

Danae's words are a typical case of the manner in which Euripides' imagery of physical appearance and tangible everyday experience

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[223] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Huys (1995) 359.
[224] Cf. Weil (1889) 334f., Webster (1967) 95.
[225] Cf. Huys (1989) 191-195. For the pollution incurred by murder, cf. Parker (1983) esp. 109-111.
[226] Cf. Seaford (1990_b) 81.

functions as the strongest hold over human beings, defining a character's attitude towards oneself and the others (cf. Barlow 1971, 81, 94f., 129f.). Cf. particularly *Med.* 1071-1078, *Tr.* 761-763, 1187 and the examples cited in the notes on ll. 1, 2. The poignant depiction of Danae's emotional force and attachment to her baby son along with the use of the imagery of physical appearance recalls Simon. *PMG* 543 (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, pp. 5-7 and Hutchinson 2001, 306-308, tracing seeds of Euripidean female *pathos*). Euripides favours scenes of parental affection; cf. Kassel (1954) 47-50 and n. 159 and note on *Dictys* fr. 12. 3.

1 πρὸς ἀγκάλαισι: mostly in plural; a common expression of affection for children. Cf. *Cyc.* 142: ὃν ἐξέθρεψα ταῖσδ' ἐγώ ποτ' ἀγκάλαις, *Alc.* 190f.: ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσ' ἐς ἀγκάλας/ ἡσπάζετ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον, *Hipp.* 1431f.: σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ τέκνον Αἰγέως, λαβὲ/ σὸν παῖδ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις, *Andr.* 747, *Tr.* 750f., 757: ὦ νέον ὑπαγκάλισμα μητρὶ φίλτατον, *IT* 834f., *Ion* 280, 1375f., *Hyps.* fr. 60. 10-12 Bond: τοὐμὸν τιθήνημ', ὃν ἐπ' ἐμαῖσιν ἀγκάλαις/ πλὴν οὐ τεκοῦσα τἄλλα γ' ὡς ἐμὸν τέκνον/ στέργουσ' ἔφερβον, also A. *Ag.* 723f., Ezechiel *Exag.* 27 and Danae's loving embrace of Perseus in *PMG* fr. 543. 5 (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 6f.).

καὶ στέρνοις ἐμοῖς: 'chest'; mainly used for males, in tragedy also for women. Apart from its literal meaning, the word here bears a metaphorical sense as well, being perceived as the seat of affections (*LSJ*[9], cf. the vocabulary of affection: *ἀγκάλαισι, φιλημάτων, ψυχήν, φίλτρον, ξυνουσίαι*); cf. similarly *Hec.* 424 : ὦ στέρνα μαστοί θ', οἵ μ' ἐθρέψαθ' ἡδέως, *HF* 485f., 1361: πρὸς στέρν' ἐρείσας μητρὶ δούς τ' ἐς ἀγκάλας, 1408: πατρός τε στέρνα προσθέσθαι θέλω, *El.* 1321f., *IT* 231-233, *IA* 634-636, *Hyps.* fr. 64. 94 Bond: ἀπομαστίδιόν γ' ἐμῶν στέρνων.

2 πηδῶν: 'to leap, to frolic'. Though Nauck's conjectures *πεσών* or *πίτνων* are supported by *Ion* 962 (πρὸς ἀγκάλαις πεσεῖν) and Hes. fr. 252. 5 M.-W. (ἐν ἀγκοίνησι πεσοῦσα), the transmitted reading occurs in a similar context in Pl. *Lg.* 672C: ἀτάκτως αὖ πηδᾷ and can be paralleled to *IT* 1251: ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι θρώισκων (a synonym of *πηδῶν*). For the image of young children as unable to keep still and susceptible to leaping about and frolicing, cf. S. *Dionysiscos Satyricos* fr. 171 R., Pl. *Lg.* 664E, Arist. *Pol.* 1340B 29 and Golden (1990) 9f.

(ἂν) ἀθύροι: *LSJ*[9] : epic word, 'to play (of children)'; cf. *Ion* 52f.: νέος μὲν οὖν ὢν ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφὰς/ ἠλᾶτ' ἀθύρων, *Auge* fr. 272 Kn.: τίς δ' οὐχὶ χαίρει νηπίοις ἀθύρμασιν; *Hyps.* fr. 1 i Bond: ἥξε[ι πατὴρ οὐ] σπά[νι' ἔχων ἀ]θύρματα/ ἃ σὰς ὀδυρμῶν ἐκγαλη[νιεῖ φ]ρένας, also *Il.* 15. 364, *h.Hom.* 19. 15, Pi. *N.* 3. 44, A. *Theoroi/*

Isthmiastae fr. 78c. 50R., Pompeius Macer *Medea* (*TrGF* I 180 F 1. 3f. Sn.), *A.P.* 9. 505.8.

φιλημάτων: for such scenes of affection between parents and children, cf. *Alc.* 401-403: ἐγώ σ' ἐγώ, μᾶτερ,/ καλοῦμαι ὁ σὸς ποτὶ σοῖσι πίτ-/ νων στόμασιν νεοσσός, *Andr.* 416: πατρὶ τῶι σῶι διὰ φιλημάτων ἰών, *HF* 1375f.: ὦ λυγραὶ φιλημάτων/ τέρψεις, *Tr.* 761-763 (and Barlow 1986, 196, Biehl 1989, 296): μητέρ' ἀσπάζου σέθεν,/ πρόσπιτνε τὴν τεκοῦσαν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὠλένας/ ἕλισσ' ἐμοῖς νώτοισι καὶ στόμ' ἄρμοσον, 1174f., *IA* 1238, Men. *Dysc.* 938f.

ὄχλῳ: 'in numbers' (*LSJ*[9]), cf. S. *Ichneutae* fr. 314. 228 R.: σὺν ἐγγόνοις νύμφαισι καιπόλων ὄχλῳ, Th. 1.80.

3 ψυχὴν ἐμὴν (ἂν) κτήσαιτο: 'he will win my heart'. Apart from the common occurrence of *ψυχή* as 'life' and 'shade of the dead', Euripides treats it also as a vital psychic entity with emotional, intellectual and moral functions, which is the case here; cf. similarly *Med.* 110, 474, *Hipp.* 173, 505, 1006, *Ion* 859, 877, *Or.* 526, *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn. and Sullivan (2000) 94-112, also S. *Ant.* 227, *OT* 64, 727, *El.* 903, *Ph.* 712, X. *Oec.* 6. 14. Cf. the similar phrasing in S. *Ph.* 1281: οὐ γάρ ποτ' εὔνουν τὴν ἐμὴν κτήσῃ φρένα, also *Ion* 1170: ψυχὴν ἐπλήρουν, *Hipp.* 1040: ψυχὴν κρατήσειν.

4 φίλτρον μέγιστον: 'charm, spell'; for the *φίλτρον* of kinship, cf. *Tr.* 51f.: αἱ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὁμιλίαι,/ ἄνασσ' Ἀθάνα, φίλτρον οὐ σμικρὸν φρενῶν and for maternal affection, in particular, *IA* 917 (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*): δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν καὶ φέρει φίλτρον μέγα, *Alcmene* fr. 103 Kn.: δεινόν τι τέκνων φίλτρον ἔθηκεν / θεὸς ἀνθρώποις, *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn.: ὦ παῖδες οἷον φίλτρον ἀνθρώποις φρενός, Biotus *Medea* (*TrGF* I 205 F1 Sn.): τὸ θρέψαι δ' ἐν βροτοῖσι πολλάκις/ πλείω πορίζει φίλτρα τοῦ φῦσαι τέκνα. It also occurs widely in the sense of 'love-charm' (cf. *Hipp.* 509, *Andr.* 207, 540, S. *Tr.* 584, 1142, Theoc. 2. 1, Dsc. *Mat. Med.* 2. 164).

αἱ ξυνουσίαι: (*LSJ* [9]): 'being together by habitual association, constant resort', here expressive of mutual intimacy; cf. the parallel usage in *Med.* 254: φίλων συνουσία, also A. *Eum.* 285, S. *OC* 62f. (stressing the close relation of the Athenians with their homeland, cf. Kamerbeek 1984, *ad loc.*): οὐ λόγοις/ τιμώμεν', ἀλλὰ τῇ ξυνουσίᾳ πλέον, *Aias Locros* fr. 14 R.: σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν ξυνουσίᾳ, Ar. *Th.* 21, *Nu.* 649.

Fr. 14:

As mentioned in the introductory note on fr. 13, Danae pleads with her father not to be separated from her baby son, presumably with the purpose of commuting the punishment from death for the baby to exposure for both of them. The vocabulary of self-sacrifice in the present distich (cf. especially *γενναίοισιν, εὐψυχία*), in combination with Lucian's description of her plea (she asks nothing for herself, but only begs for her baby's life, cf. introductory note on fr. 13), suggests that she may have sacrificed her own safety to rescue her son. The most plausible speaker of this fragment seems to be the female chorus-leader,[227] who should have been sympathetic to Danae's situation and thus ready to praise her voluntary sacrifice; cf. the note on *φεῦ* with parallels of choral distichs in praise of a character's noble conduct.

Euripides favoured the theme of self-sacrifice (mostly female) both on a personal level for one's nearest and dearest, as here and in the *Alcestis*, *Supp.* 990-1071 (for both plays, cf. Loraux 1987, 28f.) and *Protesilaus* (Hyg. *fab.* 104) [228] and on a public level, as in *Heracl.* 474-607, *Hec.* 342-443, *Ph.* 977-1018 (the sole case of male voluntary sacrifice), *IA* 1368-1531, *Erechtheus* fr. 360 Kn.[229] The dramatist's insistence on the pattern of female voluntary sacrifice may point to women conceived as victims, who, nonetheless, do not hesitate to demonstrate their free will by word and action, when faced with necessity; cf. Vellacott (1975) 178-204.

1 φεῦ: apart from expressing suffering, *φεῦ* (uttered once or twice) in Euripides serves to initiate a general reflection as reaction (positive or negative) to another character's act or utterance (cf. also introductory note on *Dictys* fr. 17). Even in these cases, *φεῦ* seems to maintain its initial emotional nuance, pointing to the speaker's own engagement in the situation. Cf. the choral praise of Macaria's self-sacrifice in *Heracl.* 535-538 (cited in *TrGF* V,1 *ad loc.)*: φεῦ φεῦ, τί λέξω παρθένου μέγαν λόγον/ κλύων, ἀδελφῶν ἣ πάρος θέλει θανεῖν;/ τούτων τίς ἂν λέξειε γενναίους λόγους/ μᾶλλον, τίς ἂν δράσειεν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι; and the choral approval in *Hipp.* 431f.: φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ σῶφρον ὡς ἁπανταχοῦ καλὸν/ καὶ δόξαν ἐσθλὴν ἐν βροτοῖς καρπίζεται, as well as the praises in *Heracl.* 555-558, *El.* 261f., *Or.* 1154f., *IA* 709f., *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn.

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[227] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 58, Kannicht *TrGF* V,1 380.

[228] On self-sacrifice for one's *philoi*, cf. Schmitt (1921) 72-77, Lattimore (1964) 49.

[229] On voluntary sacrifice for the state, cf. Wilkins (1990) 177-194, Loraux (1987) 32-48, Lattimore (1964) 47-49.

This function of *φεῦ* is found very sporadically in other poets; cf. S. *Ai.* 1266f., *Ant.* 323f., 1048-1050, Ar. *Pl.* 362-364.

τοῖσι γενναίοισιν: the 'poetic' plural (Arist. *Rh.* 1407B 32-35) is used here for generalization; cf. Bers (1984) 24-27.

Danae is 'high-born', as well as 'high-minded, noble in character'; for the use of *γενναῖος* in both senses, cf. *Supp.* 925: καὶ μὴν τὸν Οἰκλέους γε γενναῖον τόκον, *El.* 253: πένης ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἔς τ' ἔμ' εὐσεβής, 262, *Tr.* 1013, *Or.* 1060f., *IA* 504f.: γενναῖ' ἔλεξας Ταντάλωι τε τῶι Διὸς/ πρέποντα· προγόνους οὐ καταισχύνεις σέθεν, 1421f., *Andromeda* fr. 137 Kn. (and Klimek-Winter 1993, *ad loc.*), *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn., fr. inc. 961 Kn.: φεῦ, τοῖσι γενναίοισιν ὡς ἅπαν καλόν, also S. *Ph.* 51, 475f., *OC* 1042f.: ὄναιο, Θησεῦ, τοῦ τε γενναίου χάριν/ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνδίκου προμηθίας.

The occurrence of *γενναίοισιν* in this distich points to the importance attached to the notion of *eugeneia* in Euripidean contexts of voluntary sacrifice; accordingly, the noble birth of Macaria, Polyxena, Menoeceus and Iphigenia is the driving force in each one's self-sacrifice (cf. *Heracl.* 507-510, 513, 533f., 539-541, 553: ὅδ' αὖ λόγος σοι τοῦ πρὶν εὐγενέστερος, *Hec.* 347f.: εἰ δὲ μὴ βουλήσομαι,/ κακὴ φανοῦμαι καὶ φιλόψυχος γυνή, 380f., *Ph.* 997-999, 1003-1005, *IA* 1376: εὐκλεῶς πρᾶξαι, παρεῖσά γ' ἐκποδὼν τὸ δυσγενές, also *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 69f. Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*: γενναιότητος οὕνεχ', αἵτιν[ες φί]λης/ ὅρκους ἀδελφῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησα[ν λι]πεῖν). *Εὔκλεια* as a moral quality can only be acquired with their achievement (*Heracl.* 623-627: οὐδ' ἀκλεής νιν/ δόξα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ὑποδέξεται·/ ἀ δ' ἀρετὰ βαίνει διὰ μόχθων./ ἄξια μὲν πατρός, ἄξια δ' εὐγενί-/ ας τάδε γίγνεται). Cf. O'Connor-Visser (1987) 204-208, Strohm (1957) 62f.

ἁπανταχοῦ: 'on all occasions, consistently'.

2 πρέπει: here personal, 'to shine forth' (*LSJ* [9]); the 'stamp' of courage, which the nobles bear, shines forth on all occasions; cf. *Il.* 12. 104: ὃ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων, *h. Hom. Cer.* 214: ἐπί τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδὼς, Pi. *P.* 10. 67: πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει, A. *Ag.* 389: πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος.

χαρακτήρ: 'stamp, impressed mark (originating in the vocabulary of coinage, cf. Seaford 1998, 137f.), sign'. In tragedy it conveys the meaning of a 'physical sign' (cf. *Med.* 519, *El.* 572, A. *Supp.* 282) or a 'sign of an internal condition' (cf. *HF* 655-659: εἰ δὲ θεοῖς ἦν ξύνεσις / καὶ σοφία κατ' ἄνδρας / δίδυμον ἂν ἦβαν ἔφερον,/ φανερὸν

χαρακτῆρ' ἀρετᾶς). In the present fragment it occurs in its dematerialized sense as an internal sign of valour attached to *eugeneia* (cf. above, note on *γενναίοισιν*) and is thus conceived as a socially discernible standard of worth; cf. similarly *Hec.* 379-381 (and Collard 1991, 150, Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*): δεινὸς χαρακτὴρ κἀπίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς/ ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι, κἀπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται/ τῆς εὐγενείας ὄνομα τοῖσιν ἀξίοις and Will (1960) 235-237. For the meaning of the word in Theophrastus (ἠθικοὶ χαρακτῆρες, 'behavioural types'), cf. most recently Diggle (2004) 4-9. For its sense as a 'distinctive type', cf. Men. *Arrēphoros/ Aulētris* fr. 72 K.-A.: ἀνδρὸς χαρακτὴρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται, Epict. *Diss.* 4. 5.16: τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, οὓς ἔχων ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ (for further late occurrences, cf. Körte 1929, 77-86).

χρηστός: here 'useful, effective' (*LSJ* [9]); for the syntax, cf. *Hel.* 1038: ὡς δή τι δράσων χρηστὸν ἐς κοινόν γε νῶιν. For *χρηστός* as 'morally upright', cf. note on *Dictys* fr. 17. 2.

εἰς εὐψυχίαν: 'good courage, valour'. As a rule, it commends military *aretē* (cf. Dover 1974, 166); cf. *Heracl.* 567-570 (with reference to Macaria's voluntary sacrifice, cf. Allan 2001, 175): ἔσται τάδ', ὦ τάλαινα παρθένων, ἐπεὶ/ κἀμοὶ τόδ' αἰσχρόν, μή σε κοσμεῖσθαι καλῶς,/ πολλῶν ἕκατι, τῆς τε σῆς εὐψυχίας/ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου, 597f.: ὦ μέγιστον ἐκπρέπουσ' εὐψυχίᾳ/ πασῶν γυναικῶν, *Supp.* 841: διαπρεπεῖς εὐψυχίᾳ, *Med.* 403 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), *Andr.* 764, *HF* 162, *Hel.* 852, [E.] *Rh.* 510, also A. *Pers.* 326, 394: ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει, Th. 1. 121.4, 2. 87.4: ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει, Lys. ii 14, xx 14, D. lxi 23, Aeschin. iii 170, Pl. *Tim.* 25B 6, Arist. *VV* 1250B 4f.: παρέπεται δὲ τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ἡ εὐτολμία καὶ ἡ εὐψυχία καὶ τὸ θάρσος καὶ τὸ θράσος.

Fr. 15:

This general reflection on the mutability of human fortune, which seems to allude to Danae's fate, should reasonably be located towards the end of the play. Webster, followed by van Looy,[230] regarded these lines as Acrisius' final comment, presumably after having listened to the possible speech of the *deus ex machina* (cf. Plot-Structure). Nevertheless, on the basis of the

[230] Cf. Webster (1967) 95, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 59.

available evidence for tragic closures attained with the appearance of a god, the plot tends to be swiftly untied upon the delivery of the divine speech, allowing for the characters' brief submission to the god's will, whilst leaving no space for general reflections of this length; cf. the reaction of the dramatic characters in *Hipp.* 1446-1456, *Andr.* 1273-1282, *Supp.* 1227-1231, *El.* 1295-1341, *IT* 1475-1485, *Ion* 1606-1618, *Hel.* 1680-1687 and *Or.* 1666-1681. I would suggest that this fragment, which directly comments on the reversal of fortune, could have been the concluding evaluation of a messenger-speech reporting the exposure of the chest, in which Danae and Perseus are imprisoned (for the messenger-speech, cf. Plot-Structure); cf. the general reflection of comparable length and tone at the end of the messenger-speech in *Med.* 1224-1230 (cf. Page 1938 and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), also *Andr.* 1161-1165, *Supp.* 726-730 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *Heracl.* 863-866 (and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*) *Mel.D.* fr. 495. 40-44 Kn. and Johansen (1959) 151 f. and n. 3, 155, De Jong (1991) 74-76, 191f.

The simile of the mutability of human fortune to the transformations of *aethēr* (for the all-disposing power of which, cf. note *ad loc.*) points to humans as subject to necessity and cosmic order. Cf. similarly *Hyps.* fr. 60. 89-96 Bond (and his note *ad loc.*), *Ino* fr. 415 Kn. and the extended cosmic image in *Ph.* 541-545 (though the natural world is offered there as a model rather than parallel).[231] At the same time, the present simile alludes to the exposure of Danae and Perseus to the forces of nature and the occurrence of *τῷδ'* with its specifying nuance (cf. note *ad loc.*) could point to this very experience; cf. the depiction of the uncontrollable physical environment reflecting Danae's helplessness in Simon. *PMG* 543 (1a. The Mythical Background, p. 6). The imagery of the present fragment seems thus to provide a transition between the literal and the symbolic. Cf. the similar function of the nautical metaphor in *Tr.* 688-696 and Barlow (1971) 118f. The imagery of *aethēr* as reflecting the fragility of human fate occurs also in *HF* 508-512: ὁρᾶτ' ἔμ' ὅσπερ ἥ περίβλεπτος βροτοῖς/ ὀνομαστὰ πράσσων, καί μ' ἀφείλεθ' ἡ τύχη/ ὥσπερ πτερὸν πρὸς αἰθέρ' ἡμέραι μιᾶι./ ὁ δ' ὄλβος ὁ μέγας ἥ τε δόξ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτωι/ βέβαιός ἐστι, fr. inc. 908b Kn.: ὦ δυστυχεῖν φὺς καὶ κακῶς πεπραγέναι,/ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένου καὶ τὸ δυστυχὲς βίου/ ἐκεῖθεν ἔλαβες, ὅθεν ἅπασιν ἤρξατο/ τρέφειν ὅδ' αἰθὴρ ἐνδιδοὺς θνητοῖς πνοάς.

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[231] Cf. also S. *Ai.* 669-675 (and Garvie 1998, 189f.), where the necessity of yielding to the rulers is likened to the yielding of winter to summer and night to day.

1 ἐς ταὐτὸν ἥκειν: literally 'to turn out the same', hence, 'to be in the same condition/ position with someone else'; cf. *Hipp.* 273, *Hec.* 748, *Tr.* 684: ἐς ταὐτὸν ἥκεις συμφορᾶς, *Hel.* 943: ἐς ταὐτὸν ἦλθε τοῖς τεκοῦσι τοὺς τρόπους, *Or.* 1280, *IA* 665: ἐς ταὐτόν, ὦ θύγατερ, ἥξεις σῷ πατρί and Barrett (1964) on *Hipp.* 273, Harder (1985) on *Archelaus* fr. 258 Kn., [A.] *Pr.* 845.

φημί: here 'to assert, to affirm'; cf. similarly the general reflection in the messenger-speech in *Erechtheus* fr. 370. 21f. Kn.: ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς καλῶς τεθνηκότας/ ζῆν φημὶ μᾶλλον † τοῦ βλέπειν τοὺς μὴ καλῶς † and in the monologue in *Bell.* fr. 285.1f. Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν δὴ πανταχοῦ θρυλούμενον/ κράτιστον εἶναί φημι 'μὴ φῦναι' βροτῷ, also *Bell.* fr. 286. 5-7 Kn.

τὰς βροτῶν τύχας: for Euripidean reflections on the mutability of human fortune, cf. *Alc.* 785f., *IT* 475-478 (and Cropp 2000, 209), *Antiope* fr. 211 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 77f.): φεῦ φεῦ, βροτείων πημάτων ὅσαι τύχαι/ ὅσαι τε μορφαί· τέρμα δ' οὐκ εἴποι τις ἄν, *Archelaus* fr. 262 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.* for further references): πάλαι σκοποῦμαι † τὰς τύχας τῶν βροτῶν †/ ὡς εὖ μεταλλάσσουσιν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν σφαλῇ / εἰς ὀρθὸν ἔστη, χὠ πρὶν εὐτυχῶν πίτνει, *Bell.* fr. 304. 3-5 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), *Eurystheus Satyricus* fr. 376 Kn., *Scyrioi* fr. 684. 1 Kn.: φεῦ, τῶν βροτείων ὡς ἀνώμαλοι τύχαι and Krause (1976) 224-285. For this idea, cf. also note on *Dictys* fr. 2. 8 and for the relation of human fate with time, cf. note on l. 9 of the present fragment.

2 τῷδ': the deictic quality of the pronoun indicates that the speaker is probably pointing towards the sky, from which the transformations of *aethēr* emerge. The gesture, in turn, presents *aethēr* as a less abstract element, which may allude to the tangible experience of the subjection of Danae and Perseus to its successive transformations.

ὃν καλοῦσιν αἰθέρ': Euripides seems here to reflect the physical theories of Diogenes of Apollonia, the last Presocratic philosopher, whose ideas evidently enjoyed popularity in the second half of the fifth century. He regarded *aethēr* as the all-disposing power (64 A5, 7, 19, 20, B4 D.-K.), keeping the measures of all things—summer, winter, rain, winds and fair weather (64 B3 D.-K.); cf. Laks (1983) 44-55, 83-105, Guthrie (1962-1981) II 364-369, Kirk, Raven and Schofield (1983^2) 441-445. Diogenes' interpretation of meteorological phenomena possibly relies on Anaximander (12 A11, 23 D.-K.), who developed the theory of the entire atmosphere as *aēr* issuing in wind, rain or cloud according to the circumstances (cf. Kahn 1960, 98-102, 147-149), followed by Anaximenes

(13 A7 D.-K.). References to Diogenes' theory of *aethēr* as the life-principle, which he identifies with divinity (64 A8, B5 D.-K.), occur regularly in Euripides; cf. *Tr.* 884-886 (and Lee 1976, 224): ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,/ ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι,/ Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν, fr. inc. 877 Kn.: ἀλλ' αἰθὴρ τίκτει σε, κόρα,/ Ζεὺς ὃς ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται, fr. inc. 941 Kn., also *Ion* 1445 (and Lee 1997, *ad loc.*), *IA* 365 (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*), *Hipp. Cal.* fr. 443 Kn. and Egli (2003) 79-94, Schwabl (1978) 1296, 1302f., Marzullo (1993) 56-69. Cf. Aristophanes' parody of the occurrence of Diogenes' theories in Euripidean drama in *Th.* 14-18 and *Ra.* 891-894 (and Sommerstein 1996, 234). Further references to the generation of life-forms by separation of *aethēr* from earth reflect Euripides' familiarity with a wide range of physical theories current in classical Athens; cf. van Looy (1964) on *Mel. S.* fr. 484 Kn. (tracing influences from Anaxagoras, the Orphics, Empedocles and Diogenes of Apollonia), *Chrys.* fr. 839. 1f. Kn, fr. inc. 1023 Kn. and Nestle (1901) 152-159, Assael (2001) 52-54.

οὗ τάδ' ἔστι δή: I would propose *οὗ*, though not as genitive of origin, as Bothe suggested ('ex quo mundus genitus'). The pronoun evidently needs to refer to the attributes of *aethēr*, which are about to be described, and rather seems to be a predicative genitive of possession ('which has the following features'); cf. for instance, *Alc.* 788f.: εὔφραινε σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν/ βίον λογίζου σόν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης, *Hipp.* 911: σιωπῆς δ' οὐδὲν ἔργον, *IA* 1142f.· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σιγᾶν ὁμολογοῦντός ἐστί σου/ καὶ τὸ στενάζειν and Cooper (1998) I 172-176.

3-5: The oldest division of the year was in two parts (i.e. summer and winter) and kept occurring in literature, even when the other seasons were added; cf. for instance, *Alcmeon* fr. 78a Kn., also A. *Ag.* 4f. (and Fraenkel 1950, II 5), S. *Ai.* 671, Thucydides' division in summer and winter (Th. 2. 1.1) and Nilsson (1962[2]) 24. For the division of the year in three seasons, cf. *h. Hom. Cer.* 399f. (and Richardson 1974, *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 454-456 (and Griffith 1983, *ad loc.*), Ar. *Av.* 709, Lyr. adesp. fr. 37.5 Powell, D.S. 1. 26.5. The first reference to four seasons appears in Alcman *PMG* 20.

3 λαμπρόν: a regular Euripidean epithet for *aethēr*, cf. *Med.* 829, *Hipp.* 178 (and Barrett 1964, *ad loc.*), *IT* 29 (and Cropp 2000, *ad loc.*), *Ion* 1445, *Or.* 1087, *Antiope* fr. 223. 11 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 103f.), *Hipp. Cal.* fr. 443 Kn. and Bergson (1956) 129.

ἐκλάμπει: 'to flash forth' (*LSJ* [9]). There is no need to prefer Nauck's *ἐκπέμπει* (in view of A. *Ag.* 281, also adopted by Kurtz 1985,

134), if we consider *Ph.* 226f.: ὦ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς/ δικορύφων σέλας, Lyc. 1091: εὐκταῖον ἐκλάμψουσι θυμάτων σέλας and the parallels cited in *TrGF* V,1 *ad loc.*: *Cretans* fr. 472e 14f. Kn., *Hel.* 1130f., A. *Oreithyia* fr. 300. 4 R.

σέλας: 'brightness, radiance' usually coming from heavenly bodies or from fire; cf. the parallels in A. *Ag.* 281: λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας and S. *El.* 17: λαμπρὸν ἡλίου σέλας, also *Hipp.* 851: φέγγος θ' ἁλίοιο καὶ νυκτὸς ἀ-/ στερωπὸν σέλας, *Tr.* 860, *El.* 866, *Oedipus* fr. 540 i 9 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, *ad loc.*): κυανωπὸν ὥς τις Ἶρις ἀντηύγει σέλας.

4 χειμῶνά τ' αὔξει: *χειμών* is here used in its literal meaning ('winter', as opposed to *θέρος* of the previous line) in the context of weather transformations. It often occurs in poetry as a connotation of crisis, a 'storm' of troubles; cf. *Heracl.* 428, *Tr.* 688-693, *Pha.* fr. 781. 58 Kn.: ἐς μέγαν χειμῶν' ἄγειν, A. *Supp.* 166f. (and Johansen-Whittle 1980, *ad loc.*), [A.] *Pr.* 563, 643, 1015 (and Griffith 1983, 194, 206, 265): χειμὼν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία, S. *Ai.* 670 (and Stanford 1963, 146f.), *Ant.* 670. Cf. below, note on *συννέφει* and also note on fr. 2. 2 for the metaphor of a 'sea of troubles'.

5 θάλλειν τε καὶ μή, ζῆν τε καὶ φθίνειν ποεῖ: for the imagery of blooming and perishing applied to human life, cf. *Ino* fr. 415. 4f. Kn.: τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,/ τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν, *Hyps.* fr. 60. 93-96 Bond (and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, *ad loc.*): ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει/ βίον θερίζειν ὥ[στε κάρπιμον στάχυν,/ καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι, τὸν δὲ μή, S. *Tr.* 547f.: ὁρῶ γὰρ ἥβην τὴν μὲν ἕρπουσαν πρόσω,/ τὴν δὲ φθίνουσαν, *OC* 610, fr. inc. 786 R.: ὕβρις δέ του/ οὐπώποθ' ἥβης εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἵκετο,/ ἀλλ' ἐν νέοις ἀνθεῖ τε καὶ πάλιν φθίνει, Alexis *Hypnos* fr. 242. 3f. K.-A. (and for more references, Arnott 1996, *ad loc.*): φύεσθαί τ' ἀεὶ/ καινῶς φθίνειν τε τὴν παρουσίαν πάλιν, Arist. *Meteor.* 351A 29f.: ἅμα πᾶν ἀκμάζειν καὶ φθίνειν ἀναγκαῖον.

6-9: The features of human *τύχη* are likened to the above mentioned qualities of *aethēr* (ll. 3-5). Accordingly, there are people who enjoy their good moments in time (l. 6f.: τῶν μὲν εὐτυχεῖ/ λαμπρᾷ γαλήνηι, corresponding to the sunshine in l. 3), deriving from favourable circumstances, which, however, are prone to change (*εὐτυχής* does not describe lasting happiness, cf. note *ad loc.*). Then, there are other people who go through adversities (l. 7f.: τῶν δὲ συννέφει πάλιν,/ ζῶσίν τε σὺν κακοῖσιν, matching the weather conditions in l. 4); the succession of

good and bad fortune from person to person is highlighted with the use of *πάλιν* (here 'in turn') and paralleled to the succession of seasons. The idea that fortune (good or bad) passes from one person to another recurs in *Tr.* 1204-1206 (cf. Barlow 1986, 223): τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ αἱ τύχαι,/ ἔμπληκτος ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοσε/ πηδῶσι, κοὐδεὶς αὐτὸς εὐτυχεῖ ποτε, *Ino* fr. 415 Kn.: ἄνασσα, πολλοῖς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων κακά,/ τοῖς δ' ἄρτι λήγει, τοῖς δὲ κίνδυνος μολεῖν./ κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς καρπίμοις τε γῆς φυτοῖς/ θνητῶν τε γενεᾷ· τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,/ τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν and recalls Archil. fr. 13. 7-9 W. (cf. Krause 1976, 62-65): ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει τόδε· νῦν μὲν ἐς ἡμέας/ ἐτράπεθ', αἱματόεν δ' ἕλκος ἀναστένομεν,/ ἐξαῦτις δ' ἑτέρους ἐπαμείψεται and even earlier, *Od.* 4. 236f.: ἀτὰρ θεὸς ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ/ Ζεὺς ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε διδοῖ. The climax of the passage consists in the dramatic fall from *olbos* to utter ruin (l. 8f.: οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα / φθίνουσιν, 'and the most prosperous dwindle', consistent with the general idea of blooming and perishing in l. 5). The shift from prosperity (owing to high rank and wealth) to disaster is a pathetic commonplace in tragedy (cf. De Romilly 1968, 89-97) and applies to Danae's situation. An eloquent parallel of this *tricolon* crescendo (τῶν μὲν . . . τῶν δὲ . . . οἱ δ'. . .) culminating at the fate of the *olbioi* could be *Dictys* fr. 2. 3-8 (cf. note *ad loc.*) again with reference to Danae's position. It is worth noting, also, that the emphasis on the fragility of fortune in the present lines may well be an implicit final reply to the argument for the great power of *olbioi* expressed in fr. 9 possibly by Acrisius.[232]

οὕτω δέ: for similes of the same structure, cf. *Heracl.* 427-432: ὦ τέκν', ἔοιγμεν ναυτίλοισιν οἵτινες. . .οὕτω δὲ χἠμεῖς . . ., *Tr.* 688-696 : ναύταις γὰρ ἦν μὲν μέτριος ἥι χειμὼν φέρειν . . . οὕτω δὲ κἀγὼ. . . , also A. *Ch.* 247-254, S. *Ant.* 423-428, *Lovers of Achilles* fr. 149. 3-9 R.

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[232] Kurtz (1985, 135f.) interpreted the present passage by taking *φθίνουσιν* as linked with *ζῶσιν*, in the sense of *ζῶσιν, (οἱ μὲν) σὺν κακοῖσιν* (assuming that *οἱ μὲν* is implied, cf. Denniston 1954[2], 166), *οἱ δ' ὄλβου μέτα, <καὶ > φθίνουσιν*. . . The basic —and obviously insoluble— problem of this interpretation is that there is no second *τε* nor *καί*, which is required to link *ζῶσιν* with *φθίνουσιν* nor can it be implied. Besides, l. 8 would merely repeat what has just been said in ll. 6-7 (i.e. some enjoy good fortune, others face adversities), whilst passing over the dramatic change from fortune to misfortune, which is a *topos* in tragedy and the culminating point of this passage, since it corresponds to Danae's situation.

θνητῶν σπέρμα: here as 'breed', therefore 'human race, mankind'; cf. *Hec.* 254f., *IA* 520, fr. inc. 987 Kn.: εἴθ' ἦν ἄφωνον σπέρμα δυστήνων βροτῶν, fr. inc. 1012 Kn., also A. *Oreithyia* fr. 399 R.: τὸ βρότειον σπέρμα. Cf. note on fr. 9.5.

εὐτυχεῖ: 'to enjoy good fortune —often accidental— deriving from good circumstances or the achievement of some desired end', but not lasting happiness; cf. De Heer (1969) 75-78, McDonald (1978) 294f., 300f. and from the bulk of examples cited in the latter survey, cf. *Alc.* 926, *Med.* 1090-1092, *Hipp.* 1017f., *Hel.* 855f., 1030f., *Or.* 895.

7 λαμπρᾷ γαλήνῃ: corresponding to the *λαμπρὸν σέλας* of l. 3 (cf. Kurtz 1985, 136). For sunlight as symbol of prosperity, cf. note on fr. 2.1.

συννέφει: metaphor of trouble and adversity analogous to the *πυκνὸν νέφος* of l. 4 (cf. Kurtz 1985, 136); cf. *Med.* 107: νέφος οἰμωγῆς, *HF* 1140 (and Bond 1981, *ad loc.*): αἰαῖ· στεναγμῶν γάρ με περιβάλλει νέφος, 1216f.: οὐδεὶς σκότος γὰρ ὧδ' ἔχει μέλαν νέφος/ ὅστις κακῶν σῶν συμφορὰν κρύψειεν ἄν, *Ph.* 1311f. (and Mastronarde 1994, 516), also *Il.* 17. 591: τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα, S. *Ai.* 1148f. For the imagery of trouble, cf. notes on l. 4 and fr. 2. 2.

8 οἳ δ' ὄλβου μέτα: great prosperity based on wealth, lofty status and power—a much stronger term than *εὐτυχία* (cf. note *ad loc.*); cf. McDonald (1978) 304f., De Heer (1969) 70f. and note on fr. 9. 3. Here, as regularly in Euripides, *olbos* is considered to be impermanent; cf. *Heracl.* 862-866, *Hec.* 285, *HF* 511f., *Or.* 340, *IA* 161, *Andromeda* fr. 153 Kn. (and Bubel 1991, 155, Klimek Winter 1993, *ad loc.*), *Archelaus* fr. 230 Kn., *Bell.* fr. 303. 1-3 Kn., *Peleus* fr. 618 Kn.

9: Euripides tends to associate the mutability of fortune with time, which he presents as irrational, evading all human calculations. The relation of time and reversal of fortune is perceived from the spectrum of human sensibility and thus loaded with psychological *pathos*; cf. for instance, *Or.* 979-981: ἕτερα δ' ἕτερον ἀμείβεται/ πήματ' ἐν χρόνοι μακρῶι·/ βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς ἀστάθμητος αἰών, *Auge* fr. 273 Kn.: πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν, οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον,/ ἢ καὶ παραυτίκ' ἢ χρόνῳ δαίμων βίον/ ἔσφηλε, κοὐδεὶς διὰ τέλους εὐδαιμονεῖ and De Romilly (1968) 118-122, 141. Cf. also Pi. *O.* 12. 10-12: πολλὰ δ' ἀνθρώποις παρὰ γνώμαν ἔπεσεν,/ ἔμπαλιν μὲν τέρψιος, οἱ δ' ἀνιαραῖς/ ἀντικύρσαντες ζάλαις/ ἐσλὸν βαθὺ πήματος ἐν μικρῷ πεδάμειψαν χρόνῳ, *O.* 2. 32-37, *P.* 4. 291-293, S. *Ai.* 714, *Ant.* 625, *OC* 609-615, *Tyndareus* fr. 646 R. and Fraenkel (1946) 131-141, De Romilly (1968) 88f. For the motif of change of human fortune 'in one day', cf. *Hipp.* 369, *HF* 510, *Hec.* 285

(and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*): τὸν πάντα δ' ὄλβον ἥμαρ ἕν μ' ἀφείλετο, *Ino* fr. 420. 2f. Kn., *Oedipus* fr. 549 Kn., also A. *Pers.* 431, S. *Ai.* 131-133 (and Garvie 1998, *ad loc.*), *OT* 438, *El.* 1149.

προσφερεῖς: 'similar', cf. *HF* 131f.: αἵδε προσφερεῖς/ ὀμμάτων αὐγαί, *Hel.* 559, 591: Ἑλένηι προσφερὴς ὀθούνεκ' εἶ, *Or.* 408: τρεῖς νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας, also A. *Ag.* 1218, *Ch.* 176, Ar. *Eccl.* 67.

μεταλλαγαῖς: 'changes'; cf. *HF* 765f.: μεταλλαγαὶ γὰρ δακρύων,/ μεταλλαγαὶ συντυχίας, also Hdt. 1. 74, S. *Ph.* 1134, Men. *Dysc.* 271-273, *Peric.* 147-150, Pl. *Ti.* 61C.

Fr. 16:

χρησμῳδία: 'prophecy, oracular utterance'; Hsch. χ 731 (Schmidt): χρησμῳδία· μάντευμα, μαντεία, προλεγόμενον. Cf. *Mel. S.* fr. 481.16f. Kn.: ὕμνους ἧιδε χρησμωιδοὺς βροτοῖς/ ἄκη πόνων φράζουσα καὶ λυτήρια, [A.] *Pr.* 775: ἥδ' οὐκέτ' εὐξύμβλητος ἡ χρησμῳδία, S. *OT* 1199f.: τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον/ χρησμῳδόν, *Tantalus* fr. 573 R.: Ἑρμῆς ἐδήλου τήνδε χρησμῳδὸν φάτιν, Pl. *Prt.* 316D 7-9: τοὺς δὲ αὖ τελετάς τε καὶ χρησμῳδίας, τοὺς ἀμφί τε Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον. Likewise, χρησμῳδῶ: 'to deliver oracles, prophesy' (*LSJ* [9]); cf. Hdt. 7. 6.24, Ar. *Eq.* 818, D. ix 25, Pl. *Ap.* 39C, *Thg.* 124D, *Cra.* 396D, *Ion* 534B 7, Arist. *Mu.* 395B 28, X. *Ap.* 30. 3.

The complete loss of context makes the word impossible to locate with probability; a reference to the prophecy, according to which Acrisius would be killed by his grandson (cf. esp. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.1 in 1a. The Mythical Background) may have been located in the narrative prologue reporting the *προπεπραγμένα* and could account for Danae's seclusion in the chamber (if Euripides chose to follow the mythical tradition, cf. *Dramatis Personae*, p. 18). Acrisius' possible reminiscence of the oracle upon his discovery of Perseus' identity may have given rise to the matter of the baby's elimination, which is what could have motivated Danae's plea and perhaps her self-sacrifice (cf. introductory notes on frr. 13, 14). Alternatively, the word might have been mentioned in the speech of a *deus ex machina,* whose appearance is required to confirm that Perseus is Zeus' son and foretell that mother and child will be rescued and presumably that the oracle will be fulfilled at the

end (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 24).[233] In this case, *χρησμῳδία* may have referred either to the initial oracle, the eventual fulfillment of which could be confirmed by the god, or to a possible concluding prophecy of the *deus ex machina* (e.g. in terms of the fate of mother and child), which is occasionally described by Euripides as 'oracle'; cf. *Ion* 1569f.: ἀλλ' ὡς περαίνω πρᾶγμα καὶ χρησμοὺς θεοῦ,/ ἐφ' οἷσιν ἔζευξ' ἅρματ', εἰσακούσατον, *Ba.* 1333: χρησμὸς ὡς λέγει Διός and the prophecies of Eurystheus and Polymestor in *Heracl.* 1028 and *Hec.* 1267 respectively.[234]

Apart from this single word, which seems to indicate that Euripides made use of the oracle in his treatment, there is no evidence for its dramatic function. Unlike Sophocles, who uses oracles to hint to processes inaccessible to human reason (for the possible function of the oracle in his treatments of Danae's legend, cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy), oracles and divine will, in general, are taken as a starting point in Euripides and subsequently, the plot is worked out in human terms; cf. for instance, Phaedra's condition, which is taken as god-sent from the beginning, but it is the manner in which she elects to cope with it, which gives scope for the exploration of her psychology.[235] Likewise, Polyxena and Iphigenia succeed in converting their helplessness to free will, when faced with the divine necessity of sacrifice.[236] Accordingly, the oracle in the *Danae* might have been taken as a given and the plot may have worked out on the basis of human psychology. It should also be noted that unlike Sophoclean Acrisius, whose fear for the fulfillment of the oracle seems to have been decisive for his actions (cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy), the evidence for Euripides' play hints at Acrisius' possible reaction to the social implications of Danae's illicit motherhood (cf. frr. 6-10 and introductory notes *ad loc.*, Plot-Structure, p. 27), rather than the oracle. In the absence of further evidence for the play, it is self-evident that no conclusion may be drawn, but the oracle appears, at least on the strength of the available sources, to have been less prominent in Euripides than in Sophocles.[237]

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[233] Huys (1995, 130) reasonably locates this fragment in the prologue or epilogue of the play.
[234] For the concluding prophecies of the *deus ex machina*, cf. Dunn (1996) 66f.
[235] Cf. Conacher (1967) 27-33.
[236] Cf. *op. cit.* 147-150, 158f., Gregory (1991) 94f.
[237] Cf. also Huys (1995) 130.

EURIPIDES' *DICTYS*

1. The Legend: The Events at Seriphos

The *Dictys* treats the phase of the legend subsequent to the events in Argos (for which, cf. *Danae*, The Legend). To study Euripides' play of 431 BC, it is worth exploring first the sources prior to the dramatist, in order to establish the mythical background of the *Dictys,* as well as those subsequent to the play, which could offer an insight to the degree of popularity of the myth in later ages (the possible echoes of the *Dictys* in later times are studied separately in the testimonia for the play and in the chapter on Reception).

1a. The Mythical Background

The earliest account of the events following the arrival of Danae and Perseus at Seriphos belongs to Pherecydes (*FGrH* 3 F11/ fr. 11 Fowler) and is briefly and to a degree confusingly reported by the scholiast on A.R. 4. 1515a (Wendel): Dictys takes Danae and Perseus under his protection,[238] until the latter grows to manhood. Then, Polydectes, Dictys' brother and king of Seriphos, becomes enamoured of Danae. In order to win her, he organizes an *eranos* inviting Perseus among others. When the latter asks what contribution is needed for the feast, Polydectes replies "a horse", but Perseus is strangely reported to have answered "the Gorgon's head" (the explanation follows below). When the next day Perseus brings a horse, like the other guests, Polydectes does not accept it and insists that he should bring the Gorgon's head as promised, otherwise he will claim Danae. Perseus leaves at a state of despair. Pherecydes' summarized

[238] Cf. Paus. 2. 18.1 referring to a precinct probably in Seriphos (and not in Athens, cf. Frazer 1898, I 572) in honour of Dictys and the Nereid Clymene, who saved Perseus' life.

narrative of this part of the story runs as follows:

Περσέως ἐν Σερίφῳ μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς διάγοντος παρὰ Δίκτυι καὶ ἡβήσαντος <ἤδη>, Πολυδέκτης ὁ Δίκτυος ὁμομήτριος <ἀδελφὸς>,[239] βασιλεὺς Σερίφου τυγχάνων, ἰδὼν τὴν Δανάην ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, ἠπόρει δὲ συγκοιμηθῆναι· καὶ παρασκευάσας ἄριστον ἐκάλει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν Περσέα. Περσέως δὲ πυθομένου, ἐπὶ τίνι ὁ ἔρανος εὐωχεῖται, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἐπὶ ἵππῳ, Περσεὺς εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλῇ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἔρανον τῇ ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτε οἱ ἄλλοι ἐρανισταὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπεκόμιζον[240] καὶ Περσεύς, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἀπῄτει δὲ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλὴν κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ κομίσῃ, τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ λήψεσθαι ἔφη. ὁ δὲ ἀνιαθεὶς ἀπέρχεται ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν συμφορὰν εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς νήσου.

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2 ἤδη add. Fowler ex P | ἀδελφὸς add. Jacoby || 8 ἐπεκόμιζον conieci pro ἀπεκόμιζον L: ἐκόμιζον fere P | καὶ L: καὶ δὴ καὶ P || 10 μὴ P: om. L || 11 post ἀνιαθεὶς add. P καὶ ἀμηχανῶν ὅ τι δράσει

Helped by Hermes and Athena, Perseus manages to decapitate the Gorgon and returns to Seriphos asking Polydectes to gather the people to see the Gorgon's head. Consequently, the king and the Seriphian crowd are turned to stone. Pherecydes' account of the events after the decapitation of the

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[239] However, in *FGrH* 3 F4/ fr. 10 Fowler, Pherecydes states that they also had the same father: ἦσαν γὰρ ὁ Δίκτυς καὶ ὁ Πολυδέκτης, Ἀνδροθόης τῆς Κάστορος καὶ Περισθένους τοῦ Δαμάστορος, τοῦ Ναυπλίου, τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἀμυμώνης. Hesiod (fr. 8 M.-W., cf. below, p. 125) and [Apollod.] 1. 9. 6, on the other hand, attest that they were sons of Magnes, whereas Tzetzes (schol. Lyc. 838) presents Polydectes as son of Poseidon and 'Κηρεβία'. The odd name Κηρεβία occurs only in Tzetzes. Scheer's emendation *Εὐρυβία* (i.e. Polylaus' mother in [Apollod.] 2. 7. 8), on the basis of a possible confusion of Polydectes with Polylaus, is tempting, considering that Tzetzes was familiar with the *Bibliotheca* and used it very frequently in his commentary on Lycophron; cf. Wagner (1926[2]) xxv and Diller (1935) 304. In Tzetzes' version Polydectes' father is not Magnes, but Poseidon; it is not unusual for a son of Poseidon to be evil, to judge from Polyphemus, Cercyon, Sinis and Sciron. In Pherecydes' genealogy Polydectes is not Poseidon's son, but still one of his descendants.

[240] The reading *ἀπεκόμιζον* (*LSJ*[9]: 'to carry away') of L is adopted by all editors, but does not suit the context; instead, we need a verb denoting 'to bring'. I suggest that *ἐπεκόμιζον* (*LSJ*[9]: 'to bring or carry to someone') may have been the original reading wrongly copied as *ἀπεκόμιζον*. The reading *ἐκόμιζον* ('to carry, to convey, to bring to a place'), which seems to occur in P, is equally possible.

Gorgon runs thus (*FGrH* 3 F11/ fr. 11 Fowler/ schol. A.R. 4. 1515a Wendel):

Περσεὺς δὲ εἰς Σέριφον γενόμενος ἔρχεται παρὰ Πολυδέκτην, καὶ κελεύει συναθροῖσαι τὸν λαὸν ὅπως δείξῃ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλὴν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἰδόντες ἀπολιθωθήσονται. ὁ δὲ Πολυδέκτης, ἀολλίσας τὸν ὄχλον, κελεύει αὐτὸν δεικνύειν. ὁ δὲ ἀποστρεφόμενος ἐξαιρεῖ ἐκ τῆς κιβίσεως, καὶ δείκνυσιν, οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες λίθοι ἐγένοντο. ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Περσέως λαβοῦσα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐντίθησιν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς αἰγίδα· τὴν δὲ κίβισιν Ἑρμῆς ἀποδίδωσι καὶ τὰ πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κυνῆν ταῖς Νύμφαις. ἱστορεῖ Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ β΄.

4 ἀολλίσας ed. princ.: ἀολλήσας L: συναθροίσας P || 8 Ἑρμῆς ed. princ.: Ἑρμῇ Stephanus, quem secutus Jacoby ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἀποδίδωσι post κυνῆν addidit

Having petrified the Seriphians, Perseus departs for Argos with his mother and Andromeda, leaving Dictys as king of the island. The genealogist closes the narrative of the adventures of Danae and Perseus at Seriphos as follows (*FGrH* 3 F12/ fr. 12 Fowler/ schol. A.R. 4. 1091 Wendel):

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ θανάτου φησὶν Ἀκρισίου, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀπολίθωσιν Πολυδέκτου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς Γοργόνος {ἐν Σερίφῳ} Δίκτυν μὲν Περσεὺς καταλείπει ἐν τῇ Σερίφῳ βασιλέα τῶν λελειμμένων Σεριφίων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔβη πλέων εἰς Ἄργος σὺν τοῖς Κύκλωψι[241] καὶ τῇ Δανάῃ καὶ τῇ Ἀνδρομέδᾳ.

3 ἐν Σερίφῳ del. Jacoby | καταλείπει P : ἀπολείπει L || 4 βασιλέα P : βασιλεύειν L | Σεριφίων P : Σερίφων L

The summary of Pherecydes' narrative by the scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius leaves unclear what happened at the feast organized by

[241] There is no previous reference to the Cyclopes in the summary of Pherecydes' text. Though they are associated with the fortification of Mycenae (*HF* 943-945, *IA* 1500f., Paus. 2. 16.5), which was founded by Perseus, their role at this stage of the story remains unknown and is not attested by later authors.

Polydectes. The later account in [Apollod.] 2. 4.2 sheds some light on the confused summary of Pherecydes' story:

προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερίφῳ, Δίκτυς ἄρας ἀνέθρεψε τοῦτον. βασιλεύων δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Πολυδέκτης ἀδελφὸς Δίκτυος, Δανάης ἐρασθείς, καὶ ἠνδρωμένου Περσέως μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Περσέα, λέγων ἔρανον συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱπποδαμείας τῆς Οἰνομάου γάμους. τοῦ δὲ Περσέως εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Γοργόνος οὐκ ἀντερεῖν, παρὰ μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν ᾔτησεν ἵππους, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Περσέως οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους ἐπέταξε τῆς Γοργόνος κομίζειν τὴν κεφαλήν.

Ps.-Apollodorus' account presents a clearer version of the events at the *eranos,* as compared to the confused summary of the scholiast: Polydectes organized the *eranos* on the pretext of being a suitor for the hand of Hippodamia and of collecting horses, presumably for the chariot-race with her father Oenomaus. In Pherecydes' account, the *eranos* seems to have been a type of an *eranos*-feast, as found in Homer, to which everyone has to contribute, usually by bringing food; however, in his narrative the contributions are not alimentary, instead the participants are expected to bring horses as presents for the host of the banquet.[242] On the other hand, the gathering of gifts mentioned in the *Bibliotheca* resembles the fifth-century type of *eranos*-loan, namely a friendly loan supplied to someone in particular need by a group of people,[243] though it is not clear whether Polydectes is supposed to pay back for the contributions. If not, this would be the case of a collective gift, rather than a typical *eranos*-loan, which I would parallel to the gift-gathering organized by Alcinous for Odysseus (*Od.* 8. 389-417, 13. 10-12); in fact, gift-giving in primitive and archaic

[242] This is how it is presented also in schol. vet. Pi. *P.* 10. 46 (Drachmann) followed by Thomas Magister in his scholium *ad loc.* For this earlier type of *eranos* as a feast demanding contributions, cf. *Od.* 1. 226 (and schol. vet. *ad loc.*), 11. 415, Pi. *P.* 5. 77, schol. Eust. *Il.* 14. 578, 764 (van der Valk) and Longo (1987) 108-113, Vondeling (1961) 7-11, Harris (1992) 311.

[243] For this later type of *eranos*, cf. Antiphon i 2.9, D. liii 11, lix 31, D.L. 8. 87, Pl. *Lg.* 915E, Thphr. *Ch.* 15. 7, 17. 9 and Vondeling (1961) 27-67, Longo (1987) 114-116, Beauchet (1897) IV 258-271, Millett (1991) 153-159, Gernet (1968) 193 and Harris (1992) 311f. From the fourth century onwards, *eranos* also denotes a loan-group; cf. Finley (1952) 100-106, Vondeling (1961) 104-117.

societies bears the notion of reciprocity,[244] which is a basic feature of the *eranos*. Perseus' offer to bring even the Gorgon's head is here presented as a piece of foolish bravado,[245] which is exploited by Polydectes in order to eliminate him.[246] This appears to be the case in the summarized version of Pherecydes' account as well, except that in the latter Danae is the forfeit, which causes Perseus' despair. It has been aptly noted, however, that Perseus' offer could have hardly been predicted by the king and his ulterior motive for organizing the *eranos* cannot thus be explained;[247] this point may indicate a gap in both narratives, as the impression given from the context is that Polydectes planned the *eranos* with the particular purpose of trapping Perseus in a certain manner, so as to get him out of the way.[248]

Ps.-Apollodorus (2. 4.3) continues by reproducing the plot of the *Dictys* (cf. *Dictys* T5): upon returning to Seriphos, Perseus finds out that

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[244] Cf. Finley (1977[2]) 64-66. Alcinous' act, however, is not described by Homer as *eranos*, since this term is used in the epics with its early meaning, denoting a feast demanding contributions.

[245] Cf. Gantz (1993) 303.

[246] For Polydectes' assignment to Perseus, cf. also A.R. 4. 1515, Arr. *Anab.* 3. 3.1 and for his petrification, Nonn. *D.* 25. 80ff., 47. 551ff. *Πολυδέκτης* is an epithet of Hades as 'the receiver of many' in h.*Hom.Cer.* 9 (cf. Richardson 1974, *ad loc.*) and Cornut. 35. On this basis, Fontenrose (1959, 293, 298f.) perceived Polydectes as a personification of Hades sending Perseus to the land of Medusa, which symbolizes the realm of death. Since, however, there is no evidence from literature or iconography identifying the king of Seriphos as Hades, this suggestion remains speculative. On the other hand, the name Polydectes may well denote 'the host' of the feast, in view of the *eranos* he organized; so Gernet (1968) 48, n. 153.

[247] Cf. Gantz (1993) 303.

[248] The later scholium of Thomas Magister on Pi. *P.* 10. 46 (Abel) mentions that Perseus proposed to bring the Gorgon's head, as he could not afford a horse, which may well account for both Perseus' offer and Polydectes' motive for organizing the *eranos*; considering, however, that Thomas closely follows the ancient scholium and adds only this piece of information, it cannot be proved whether his explanation originates in a lost source or is his own reasonable inference. The phrasing in Ps.-Apollodorus' narrative could fit this interpretation, since *οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους* does not need to be interpreted as 'he did not take/ accept the horses', but could also be translated as 'he did not receive the horses' (because Perseus did not bring any horses). In such a case, however, one should have to contest the reliability of Pherecydes' account, at least as transmitted in schol. A.R. 4. 1515a, where Perseus is clearly said to have brought a horse, which Polydectes did not accept. It cannot be completely ruled out that the scholiast of Apollonius may have not had direct access to this part of Pherecydes' narrative —to judge from his clumsy and confusing epitome— and used an intermediary source, which may account for a possible misinterpretation of the passage. Nevertheless, I would hesitate to take for granted that Pherecydes' account is corrupt, in favour of information of unknown provenance provided in a later scholium.

Polydectes' violence has forced Danae and Dictys to become suppliants. He thus enters the palace and lithifies Polydectes and his friends. The rest of his account mainly follows Pherecydes:

καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, ἀπέδωκε τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνῆν Ἑρμῇ, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος Ἀθηνᾷ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νύμφαις, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε. λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων ὅτι δι' Ἀθηνᾶν ἡ Μέδουσα ἐκαρατομήθη· φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ περὶ κάλλους ἠθέλησεν ἡ Γοργὼ αὐτῇ συγκριθῆναι.[249]

5 ἐνέθηκε Heyne: ἀνέθηκε A

The earliest literary source for the Perseus-Gorgon story is Hes. *Th.* 280f.,[250] though there is no indication associating the slaying of the Gorgon with the events at Seriphos. The Mycenean suffix *-ευς* of Perseus' name could take the roots of his legend back to the Bronze Age (along with the references to Danae's bronze chamber, cf. *Danae*, 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 7)[251] and the legendary foundation of Mycenae by the hero points in the same direction.[252] His heroic status is attested also in the fragments of the *Ehoiai* (fr. 129. 14-15 M.-W.), where he is described as *μήστωρ φόβοιο* ('deviser of terror'), a formula characterizing

[249]The reference to Athena's responsibility for Medusa's beheading does not originate in Pherecydes and mostly recurs in later sources, such as schol. Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 (Thilo-Hagen) and Tzetzes schol. Lyc. 838 (Scheer), who evidently relies on the narrative of the *Bibliotheca*. In *Ion* 989-996 (cf. Lee 1997, 270) Medusa is said to have been killed by Athena herself. For Perseus' offer of the Gorgon's head to Athena, cf. also Hes. fr. 363a M.-W.

[250] Cf. also *Sc.* 216-237.

[251] Page (1959, 196f.) pointed out that this particular suffix was typical of heroic names and went out of use before the historical period. Cf. also Nilsson (1932) 26, Perpillou (1973) 223 and Luce (1975) 173.

[252] Cf. Hecat. fr. 22 Fowler/ *FGrH* 1 F22, *IA* 1500, Nicand. *Alex.* 100, Paus. 2. 15.4, 2. 16.3 and schol. Eust. *Il.* 2. 569 (van der Valk). Pausanias refers to Perseus' Hellenistic fountain (2. 16.6) and precinct in Mycenae (2. 18.1), while there survives an archaic inscription (*IG* IV 493) from the hero's cult in this city; cf. Jameson (1990) 214ff.

warriors:[253] ἣ δ' ἔτεκεν Δανά]ην κ[α]λλίσφυρο[ν ἐν μεγά]ρ[οισιν,/ ἣ Περσῆ' ἔτεκεν κρα]τε[ρὸ]ν μ[ήσ]τωρ[α] φόβοιο.

The same source preserves the earliest reference to Dictys and Polydectes, though we are not in a position to know whether they already formed part of Perseus' legend (fr. 8 M.-W.): Μάγνης δ' αὖ Δίκτυν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολυδέκτεα. The fixed epithet *ἀντίθεος* ('equal to a god') is attached to kings and nobles [254] and is indicative of high social status, in accordance with the values of epic poetry.[255] Likewise, Penelope's suitors are described as *ἀντίθεοι* (*Od.* 14. 18), in view of their noble origin, physical appearance, wealth and courage, as Eustathius explains (schol. *ad loc.*).

Along with Pherecydes, Pindar is the earliest source to attest Polydectes' deserved punishment; he is the only one to mention (in *P.* 12. 14f., dated in 490) that the king used Perseus' absence to reduce Danae to slavery and make her his concubine: λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτᾳ θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον/ δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος.[256] Similarly, the papyrus-fragment of the Pindaric dithyramb fr. 70d Sn.-M. (=Pi. *Dith. Oxy.* 4/ fr. inc. 284 Schröder) refers to the petrification of the king and the Seriphian crowd (ll. 40-43: ἢ γὰρ [α]ὐτῶν μετάστασιν ἄκραν[/..θη]κε· πέτραι δ' [ἔφ]α[ν]θεν ἀντ[ὶ] φωτῶν/ ....]ν τ' ἔρωτος ἀνταμοιβὰν ἐδάσσατο[/ στρα]τάρχῳ). The poet here uses the same phrasing with *P.* 12. 15 presumably again with reference to Danae's forced cohabitation with Polydectes (l. 14f.: φύτευεν ματρί/].αν λέχεά τ' ἀνα[γ]καῖα δολ[). The *ἀναγκαῖα λέχεα* have been alternatively regarded as pointing to Danae's rape by Proetus (cf. *Danae,* 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 8).[257] The surviving context of the dithyramb, however, is all about Polydectes and the punishment for his offence against Danae (l. 42: *ἔρωτος ἀνταμοιβά*), while the occurrence of *ἐδάσσατο* (l. 42) interestingly alludes to the *eranos*, where the king asked for the Gorgon's

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[253] Cf. schol. vet. *Il.* 6. 97 (Erbse): *ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῷ μήσασθαι φυγὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις.* Cf. *Il.* 6. 278, 23. 16, where *μήστωρ φόβοιο* is attached to Diomedes and Patroclus respectively.

[254] See *LfgrE* s.v. '*ἀντίθεος*'. Polyphemus is also described as *ἀντίθεος* (*Od.* 1. 70), presumably because he is the most powerful of the Cyclopes (*ὅσσον κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον/ πᾶσιν Κυκλώπεσσι*). Cf. also Parry (1971) 127, Vivante (1982) 129 and Geddes (1984) 30.

[255] Cf. Adkins (1960) 32f.,46 and Adkins (1972) 12f., 25.

[256] Cf. schol. vet. *ad loc.* (Drachmann), Farnell (1932) 236 and Köhnken (1971) 127, n. 55. The theme of the petrification of Polydectes and the Seriphians briefly occurs in *P.* 10. 44-48 (cf. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) as well.

[257] For this possibility, cf. Snell-Maehler *ad loc.*

head.[258] Moreover, the usage of the plural (*ἀναγκαῖα λέχεα*) suggests prolonged sexual subservience, as that evidently imposed on Danae by Polydectes according to Pindar, rather than an act of rape. Hence, there seems to be no particular reason why a reference to Proetus has to be assumed in this context.[259]

1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy

The phase of the legend dealing with Perseus' manhood inspired several dramatic productions prior to the *Dictys*. A *Perseus* tragedy, of which only the title is known, was written by Pratinas and produced together with his *Tantalus* and the satyr play *Palaestae* by his son Aristias in 467 BC. The following interesting fragment from an unknown play ascribed to Aristias might be related to the *Perseus* and the foundation of Mycenae: μυκαῖσι δ' ὠρέχθει τὸ λάινον πέδον (*TrGF* I 9 F6);[260] according to Pausanias (2. 16.3), Perseus being thirsty pulled a mushroom (*μύκης*) from the ground, whereupon water gushed out and therefore he named the town that he founded at this place (Mycenae) after the *μύκης*. Considering also that it was Aristias who produced the *Perseus* after his father's death, it is conceivable that this fragment could have been mistakenly ascribed to Aristias instead of Pratinas.

Aeschylus wrote the *Phorcides*, in which, according to [Erat.] *Cat.* 22, Perseus outwits the Graiai by seizing their one eye and, catching the Gorgons asleep, he beheads Medusa.[261] The play is paralleled to the *Prometheus* and the tragedies set in Hades, in terms of its spectacular effects, if we trust Bywater's plausible conjecture *ὄψις* on Arist. *Poet.* 1456A 2. Aeschylus is also attested to have written a *Polydectes*, of which only the title survives (*TrGF* III, T 78. 15b). The complete absence of quotations may suggest that it did not survive to be included in Aristophanes' edition, which relied on Lycurgus' official copy of the plays of the fourth-century repertory, otherwise it would have stood a good chance of being cited even once by later authors.[262] The title as such seems

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[258] Cf. van der Weiden (1991) 163.
[259] Cf. also Lavecchia (2000) 232.
[260] Cf. Kuhnert (1909) 1992.
[261] Cf. Mette (1963) 155-157, Aélion (1986) 163-167 and for iconographic evidence, Séchan (1926) 107-109.
[262] Cf. Karamanou (2002/2003) 168.

to point to the conflict between Polydectes and Perseus, either the petrification or the events at the *eranos*.[263] The *Phorcides* and *Polydectes* may have well belonged to the same connected tetralogy with the satyr-play *Dictyulci*,[264] which treats the arrival of the chest at Seriphos, fished up by Dictys and the chorus of satyrs (fr. 46a-c). Silenus is courting Danae, intending to take mother and child with him (fr. 47a. 765-772 R.). Danae bursts out, in view of her new misfortune (fr. 47a. 773-785 R.). Silenus, who seems to be the 'satyric' counterpart of Polydectes,[265] is trying to win the infant Perseus over (fr. 47a. 786-820 R.), so as to soften the mother's heart, and is preparing to leave the stage together with his fellow satyrs, carrying their 'prize' (fr. 47a. 821-832 R.). Both mother and child seem finally to have been protected by Dictys.[266] It should be noted that apart from Euripides' play, the sole attested dramatic appearance of Dictys is in the *Dictyulci.* On the basis of Sicelisms traced in the *Phorcides* and *Dictyulci,* the tetralogy may be dated after Aeschylus' journey to Sicily in 472-468 BC.[267]

Unlike the art of the Archaic Age, which had a penchant for scenes depicting Perseus with the Gorgoneion and the decapitation of Medusa,[268] fifth-century vase-painting introduced the theme of Polydectes' petrification, as treated in mythography and poetry.[269] Accordingly,

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[263] Cf. Gantz (1980) 150f.

[264] Cf. Pfeiffer (1938) 20.

[265] Cf. Gantz (1980) 151.

[266] For the reconstruction of the play, cf. Werre de Haas (1961) 72-75. An Attic red-figured pyxis of 470-460 BC (first published by Clairmont 1953, 92-94) is considered to have been inspired by the *Dictyulci*; cf. Trendall and Webster (1971) fig. II 3. I would explain the absence of satyrs from the vase-painting by the fact that the first scene depicted is placed before their arrival to help pull off the chest and the second after their being repulsed by Dictys.

[267] So *TrGF* III 362 and for further argumentation for a late date, cf. Goins (1997) 193-210. The vase-illustration possibly inspired by the *Dictyulci* (cf. previous note) is also dated rather late, in about 470-460 BC.

The title of the other tragedy of the tetralogy is lost. Gantz (1980, 150) proposed the *Thalamopoioi*, relating it to the construction of Danae's bronze chamber. However, the meagre evidence for this play is inconclusive (for which, cf. also Wecklein 1893, 413ff., Webster 1950, 86). Howe (1953, 271ff.) pointed out the striking similarity and theatrical character of three vase-paintings dated in around 490 BC (all three depicting Acrisius, Danae, the infant Perseus and a carpenter preparing the chest, cf. *LIMC* I, s.v. 'Akrisios' figg. 1-3) and tried to relate them to the lost play of Aeschylus' tetralogy. This suggestion, however, cannot be reconciled with the evidence for the tetralogy pointing to a late date of production, as already mentioned. Nevertheless, a lost early fifth-century tragedy on the Danae-myth may seem possible as source of inspiration of these vase-paintings.

[268] Cf. Jones-Roccos (1994_a) in *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Perseus' 335f., 339, 341, 345f.

[269] Cf. *LIMC* VII, s.v. 'Polydectes', figg. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8.

Pausanias (1. 22.7) [270] refers to a painting in the picture-gallery at the north-western part of the Propylaea (dated between 436-432 BC) depicting Perseus as bringing the Gorgon's head to Polydectes.

1c. The Legend in Attic Comedy

Cratinus' *Seriphioi*, which is subsequent to the *Dictys*, could be dated in about 423/422 BC.[271] Strabo (10. 5.10) having obviously Cratinus' play in mind, attests that comic poets explained the infertility and rocky image of Seriphos as resulting from the petrification of its people by Perseus.[272] The theme of the play is mythical and further mythological references are discernible in frr. 222, 223.1 and fr. inc. 343 K.-A. (Perseus' itinerary to the land of the Gorgons), fr. 225 (greeting to the land of Seriphos) and fr. 231 K.-A. (Andromeda). Nevertheless, the references to contemporary politics in frr. 221, 223.2f., 227 and 228 K.-A. suggest that the *Seriphioi* was not merely a mythological burlesque, but may be paralleled to the *Dionysalexandros* and *Nemesis*, in terms of the exploitation of myth for political allusion.[273]

P.Oxy. 2742 preserving fragments from a possible commentary on the *Seriphioi* refers to the use of *κράδη* in the play (ll. 8-19), which is the comic equivalent to the tragic *μηχανή* (cf. Pollux 4. 128-129). The obvious air-borne character in Cratinus' play would be Perseus (this is also implied in fr. 222 K.-A.).[274] Fr. 218 K.-A. with reference to tragic masks [275] and fr. inc. 343 K.-A. (probably belonging to the *Seriphioi*) echoing [A.] *Pr.* 793[276] seem to point in the direction of a burlesque of the tragic treatments of the myth. What should be asked, therefore, is whether 'flying' Perseus of the comic play could be the parody of a scene from a tragedy on the

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[270] Cf. Frazer (1898) *ad loc.*

[271] In view of the references to Amynias and Cleon in frr. 227 and 228 K.-A. respectively; cf. Kaibel (1895) 445 and *PCG* IV, *ad loc.*

[272] Cf. fr. 225 K.-A. praising the fertility of the island, which could either be an ironic remark on the mock-fertility of Seriphos or could refer to the image of the island before the petrification of its people; cf. *PCG* IV, *ad loc.*

[273] For the allegory in the *Dionysalexandros*, cf. Bona (1988) 187ff., Revermann (1997) 198ff., Norwood (1931) 122. For the *Nemesis*, cf. Luppe (1974) 49ff., Norwood (1931) 124f. and Körte (1922) 1653.

[274] Cf. Lobel on *P.Oxy.* 2742.

[275] Cf. Stark (1959) 7f.

[276] Cf. Meineke (1839-1857) II,1 136.

Perseus-myth antedating the *Seriphioi*. Pollux's testimony (4. 128) that the hero was presented in tragedy as suspended in the air from the *μηχανή* does not really help in establishing the possibility of Cratinus' burlesque of a tragic treatment, as Pollux may well be referring to the Euripidean *Andromeda* (cf. 'flying' Perseus in *Andromeda* fr. 124 Kn. and Klimek-Winter 1993, *ad loc.*) staged after the *Seriphioi* in 412 BC (cf. *TrGF* V,1 233). Perseus seems rather unlikely to have been presented as flying in Sophocles' *Andromeda* (staged in ca. 450 BC),[277] which leaves the *Dictys* as a candidate target-play for Cratinus.[278] Admittedly, the parody of a parallel tragic crane-scene in the comic play cannot be substantiated (the available evidence for the *Dictys* is not helpful in this matter), though the above mentioned fragments pointing to tragic burlesque, as well as the temporal proximity of the *Dictys* to the *Seriphioi* may favour this possibility.

1d. Later Versions

No other literary treatment of the events at Seriphos is known and the popularity of this phase of the legend seems to have decreased from the fourth century BC onwards, apart from sources echoing the *Dictys* (cf. below T3, T4, T5, probably T6, and the remote relation of T7 to the play). Latin literature presents an interesting variety, as regards the phase of the legend following the exposure of Danae and Perseus. Hyginus' account (*fab.* 63) differs substantially from the known sources in terms of the events at Seriphos:

Danae Acrisii et Aganippes[279] filia. huic fuit fatum ut quod peperisset Acrisium interficeret; quod timens Acrisius eam in muro lapideo

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[277] Cf. Klimek-Winter (1993) 38. For the date of S. *Andromeda, op. cit.* 23.

[278] Cf. Webster (1972) 454, arguing for Cratinus' parody of a possible flying Perseus in the *Dictys*.

[279] The name Aganippe for Danae's mother appears only in Hyginus (cf. *Danae,* 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 1 and n. 2); this is the name of the Nymph after whom the spring of the Muses in Helicon was named (Paus. 9. 29. 5 and schol. Call. *Aet.* 1, *P. Oxy.* 2262, fr. 2a. 16, 24) and of a daughter of Aegyptus (Plut. *De fluv.* 16. 1.10). Hyginus may have confused the name Eurydice with Aganippe, as he does, for instance, in *fab.* 15, naming Hypsipyle's son Deipylus instead of Thoas and in *fab.* 123, where the son of Andromache and Neoptolemus is named Amphialus instead of Molossus.

praeclusit. Iuppiter autem in imbrem aureum conversus cum Danae concubuit, ex quo compressu natus est Perseus. quam pater ob stuprum inclusam in arca cum Perseo in mare deiecit. ea voluntate Iovis delata est in insulam Seriphum, quam piscator Dictys cum invenisset, effracta <arca> vidit mulierem cum infante, quos ad regem Polydectem perduxit, qui eam in coniugio habuit et Perseum educavit in templo Minervae. quod cum Acrisius rescisset eos ad Polydectem morari, repetitum eos profectus est; quo cum venisset, Polydectes pro eis deprecatus est, Perseus Acrisio avo suo fidem dedit se eum numquam interfecturum. qui cum tempestate retineretur, Polydectes moritur ; cui cum funebres ludos facerent, Perseus disco misso, quem ventus distulit in caput Acrisii, eum interfecit. ita quod voluntate sua noluit, deorum factum est; sepulto autem eo Argos profectus est regnaque avita possedit.

7 arca suppl. Marshall || 10 quo Micyllus: quod F

Hyginus thus narrates how the chest was fished up in Seriphos by a fisherman named Dictys (not mentioned here as Polydectes' brother), who took Danae and Perseus to king Polydectes. The king married Danae, sent Perseus to be brought up in the temple of Athena, and protected them from Acrisius. The latter was accidentally killed by Perseus at the funeral games in honour of Polydectes.[280]

Though the mythographer's work often reflects plots of tragedies, especially Euripidean,[281] the available evidence for the dramatic treatments of this phase of the myth does not agree with this particular narrative. The sole reference to the variant of Perseus' upbringing by Polydectes occurs in the D-Scholium on *Il.* 14. 319 (van Thiel): διασωθέντων δὲ τούτων εἰς Σέριφον τὴν νῆσον συνέβη ἀνατραφῆναι τὸν παῖδα παρὰ Πολυδέκτῃ. This piece of information accords with Hyginus' account and indicates that the lost authority of *fab.* 63 was known to the source of the D-Scholia, the 'Mythographus Homericus' (ca. second century AD). Considering that the

[280] For Acrisius' death at the funeral games of Polydectes, cf. also *fab.* 273.

[281] Hyginus roughly provides the plots of Euripides' *Alope* (*fab.* 187), *Protesilaus* (*fab.* 104), *Ino* (*fab.* 4), *Cresphontes* (*fab.* 137), *Antiope* (*fab.* 8) and *Archelaus* (*fab.* 219); cf. Huys (1996) 170-178 and (1997) 11-29.

preference for less known versions of legends is Alexandrian [282] and that both Hyginus and the 'MH' draw material from Hellenistic authors,[283] in the absence of any further clue I would suspect that the source of Hyginus' account and of the variant in the D-scholium might have been Alexandrian.

Occasional Latin references to Polydectes' assignment to Perseus and his petrification do exist;[284] it seems, however, that the 'Seriphian' part of the story was overshadowed in Latin literature by the 'Italian' version of Danae's adventures, which presented her as reaching the coast of Latium and founding Ardea (cf. *Danae,* 1d. The Legend in Latin Literature).

2. The Date of the Play

According to hyp. *Medea* by Aristophanes of Byzantium (T1), the *Dictys* was staged in 431 BC together with the *Medea*, the *Philoctetes* and the satyr play *Theristae*. Euripides' production won the third prize. For more detail, cf. note on T1.

3. *Dramatis Personae*

On the basis of the evidence, we are in a position to identify the following dramatic characters:

(1) Dictys: the character after whom the play is named, hence a central figure. For his role, cf. T5, T3 and the probable reference in T6. He is the speaker of fr. 2 and among the candidates for frr. 1, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16 (cf. commentary *ad loc.*). He is the addressee of frr. 3 and 11. It remains unclear whether Dictys is Polydectes' brother in the play, as attested in mythography (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.2). Nor are we in a position to know if Dictys is rewarded at the exodos

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[282] Cf. Rose (1930) 43, referring to Hyginus' peculiar variants of myths, such as those introduced in the legend of the Atreidae (*fabb.* 98, 117, 121) and of the death of Erechtheus' daughters (*fab.* 46 and Rose's note *ad loc.*), which he regards as Alexandrian.

[283] Cf. van der Valk (1963) 313.

[284] Cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 242ff., Hyg. *fab.* 64, *De Astr.* 2. 12 (following [Erat.] *Cat.* 22), Myth. Vat. 2. 134, 135, 137, schol. Serv. Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 (Thilo-Hagen).

with the kingship of Seriphos, as mentioned in Pherecydes' account, which is followed by [Apollod.] 2. 4.3. If Dictys was Polydectes' elder brother in the play (for Dictys' old age, cf. T3, frr. 3, 11), his reduction to fisherman might have resulted from usurpation of his power by Polydectes in the *προπεπραγμένα*. In this case, he would have been rightfully restored to the throne of Seriphos after Polydectes' petrification. Though this possibility remains unproven, the popularity of the theme of usurpation in tragedy is worth noting; apart from the typical cases of the Atreidae (cf. A. *Agamemnon, Choephoroi*, the *Electra* of Sophocles and Euripides) and the Labdacids (*Phoenissae,* A. *Seven*), this theme was also treated in Euripides' *Heracles* (*HF* 33: Lycus usurping Creon's kingship), *Oeneus* (old Oeneus thrown out of his throne by his nephews, cf. schol. Ar. *Ach.* 418 Wilson) and *Cresphontes* (Polyphontes seizing the power of his brother, elder Cresphontes, cf. Hyg. *fabb.* 137, 184).

The figure of Dictys as the type of the righteous man of modest means seems to be a precursor of the character of the farmer in Euripides' *Electra* and in *Or.* 920-922 and may additionally be paralleled to Actor, the Lemnian shepherd in the Euripidean *Philoctetes* of the same production, who is the only one to succour the tormented hero (D.Chr. *Or.* lii 8, Hyg. *fab.* 102); cf. introductory note on fr. 14. Dictys' moral assertiveness despite his old age (cf. fr. 3), as well as his intellectual capacities (cf. fr. 2 and his possible participation in the *agōn* of frr. 4, 5), seem also to foreshadow the figures of Peleus in the *Andromache* and Amphitryon in the *Heracles*. For more detail, cf. introductory note on fr. 3.

(2) Danae: for her position, cf. T3, T4, T5. Fr. 11 is assigned to her with certainty and she is among the candidates for frr. 1, 10, 12 and the obscure fr. 18. She is the addressee of fr. 2 and probably of fr. 13.

(3) Polydectes: for this character, cf. T3, T4, T5. Frr. 8, 9 can be assigned to him quite confidently, he is the strongest candidate for frr. 4 and 17 and a possible speaker of fr. 7. He is the addressee of frr. 5, 6, probably of fr. 16 and perhaps also of fr. 18.

(4) Perseus: for his role, cf. T3, T4, T5. No fragment can be attributed to him with certainty; he is a possible speaker of frr. 13, 14, 15 and less likely of fr. 4.

(5) Polydectes' interlocutor in frr. 6-9: his role is not attested in the testimonia, it may only be inferred on the basis of the fragments; the unusual prominence given to the effects of the king's desire on his family and the emphasis drawn on the father-son relationship in these fragments may point to a conversation between Polydectes and another character (the king's son?) rather than to the context of a confrontation between the king

and the suppliants (cf. note on fr. 6). He is probably the speaker of fr. 6 and perhaps of frr. 7, 12, 18, as well as addressee of frr. 8 and 9.

(6) a messenger (self-evidently someone who had not looked at the Gorgon's head) would have appeared to announce Polydectes' off-stage petrification [285] (cf. Plot-Structure).

(7) Chorus: the likeliest speaker of fr. 3 and perhaps frr. 5 and 10. It is reasonable to assume that the chorus consisted of inhabitants of Seriphos. Yet, there is no evidence for their gender; to argue for Dictys as a central figure, after whom the play is named, may tell in favour of a chorus of the same gender,[286] perhaps consisting of fishermen.[287]

(8) a *deus ex machina* does not seem to be needed for the dénouement of the action, unless required to resolve any now unrecoverable complications of the plot (cf. Plot-Structure). He may have appeared, however, to give instructions (as Athena does in *Supp.* 1183-1226); presumably to reward Dictys for his righteousness (as the Farmer is rewarded in *El.* 1286f., though it remains unknown whether Dictys would have been assigned with the kingship of Seriphos; cf. above, on the role of Dictys) and command that the Gorgon's head should be given to Athena. The 'Gorgoneion' on the aegis of the goddess was part of her attribute as protector of Athens, sculpted on the shield of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, which was dedicated in 438/ 437, and thus part of the goddess's cult in the city;[288] cf. the relevant reference in *Erechtheus* frr. 351, 360. 46 Kn. (and Calder 1969, 152f.). This possible aetion [289] is likely to have appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience at the outbreak of the

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[285] So Webster (1967) 62, Aélion (1983) I 264.

[286] The Euripidean chorus usually has the same gender as that of the central character; cf. the *Alcestis* (where the chorus has the same gender as Admetus), *Medea, Andromache, Hecabe, Heracles, Electra, IT, Helen, IA, Telephus, Cresphontes*; cf. Hose (1990) I 18 and Arnold (1878) 52.

[287] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 80. Hartung (1843-1844, I 366) and Webster (1967, 63) suggested a female chorus.

[288] For the 'Gorgoneion' on the aegis of Athena, cf. *El.* 1257, *Ion* 989ff. and also Burkert (1985) 140, Harrison (1991[3]) 192, Halm-Tisserant (1986) 245-278. For the popularity of the 'Gorgoneion' in Athenian art, cf. Floren (1977) 30-61, 104-168, 186-191.

[289] For Euripides' penchant for aetiologies at the epilogues of his plays, cf. Scullion (2000) 219-227, Wilson (1968) 69-71, Grube (1961) 78f. For the aetiological function of the *deus ex machina* in particular, cf. *Hipp.* 1423-7 (and Barrett 1964, 412), *El.* 1273-5, *IT* 1456f., *Ion* 1575ff., *Hel.* 1670ff., *Or.* 1643-6 and also Dunn (1996) 46-63, Rehm (1992) 70f., Kitto (1939) 288f. and Collard (1981) 7.

Peloponnesian War [290] and could have served to spell out the connection between past and present, projecting the events of the play into the present world of the audience.[291] If Euripides followed mythography (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 12 Fowler), he would have Danae and Perseus sail back to Argos. As to the god's identity, Hermes and Athena, who were Perseus' allies in his pursuit of the Gorgon, seem to be the strongest candidates. Poseidon, to whose altar Danae and Dictys have fled (cf. T3), is also feasible; likewise, Thetis, who has received Andromache's supplication emerges *ex machina* in *Andr.* 1231-1272, though her appearance seems to be primarily prompted by her close relation to Peleus and Neoptolemus.

4. Plot-Structure

Thanks to the combination of the evidence of T4 and T5 with T3, we are able to recover the outline of the plot of the *Dictys*. On the basis of the testimonia and the most informative book-fragments, the scene-construction may be restored up to an extent. The context of fragments of less probable location is discussed in the commentary.

(1) Narrative prologue (fr. 1 probably belongs here) — according to Euripides' practice [292]— setting out the *προπεπραγμένα* (i.e. the arrival of the chest at Seriphos, the protection that Dictys offered to Danae and Perseus and Polydectes' mission to Perseus to bring him the Gorgons' head, cf. 1a. The Mythical Background) and the present situation (Perseus' long absence, the king's plans to get hold of Danae and the refuge sought by Danae and Dictys at the altar of Poseidon, cf. T3, T4, T5). Dictys or Danae would have been equally suitable to deliver the prologue-speech; in view, however, of the possible context of fr. 11 (Danae might have fallen asleep possibly at the beginning of the play, rather than afterwards at the crisis, cf. note *ad loc.*), Dictys may be a likelier speaker. As the play seems to have been built upon a central altar-scene (cf. T3, T4, T5), the prologue-speech could be visualized as delivered by one of the two suppliants, Danae or Dictys, upon a 'cancelled entry',[293] which would create an

[290] For the sensitivity of the Athenian audience during the War, cf. Zuntz (1955) 16-20, 80f., Wilkins (1990) 179-181, Delebecque (1951) 87f., 425f., Di Benedetto (1971) 112-114, 121-123, 145-147 and introductory note on fr. 16.
[291] For this function of the aetion, cf. Dunn (1996) 46-48.
[292] Cf. Schmidt (1971) 34-38, Erbse (1984) 291, Goward (1999) 125f.
[293] The term belongs to Taplin (1977) 134.

imposing opening tableau (cf. Setting). Webster followed by Aélion regarded Perseus as a possible prologue-speaker before his departure for the land of the Gorgons, drawing a parallel to Bellerophon's prologue-speech before being sent to meet the Chimaera in *Sthen.* fr. 661 Kn.[294] It should be noted, however, that Bellerophon's prologue-speech is required by the dramatic action, so that his circumstances, reaction and ethical stance are made clear.[295] A speech by Perseus, on the other hand, would involve a major unreality of time with no obvious dramatic gain, since the background of the play and the present situation could just as well be reported by Dictys or Danae. Moreover, in such a case, the focus of the dramatic interest would be on Perseus, instead of Dictys, who seems to have been the prominent figure of the play, overshadowing, in this manner, the crisis between the suppliants and the king. In addition, Euripides' marked preference for opening tableaux in plays constructed upon a central altar-scene would tell in favour of one of the two suppliants as prologue-speaker.

(2) Dictys is trying to comfort Danae (fr. 2), as they both fear that Perseus has died. This consolation-scene may have been part of the broader context of a 'suppliant-suppliant' discourse on how to suffer their fate, parallel to that between Megara and Amphitryon in *HF* 60-106.[296]

(3) Fr. 3 points to a scene of conflict between Dictys and Polydectes, a 'suppliant-enemy' confrontation.[297] The king might have tried to force the suppliants to leave the sanctuary (for his violence, cf. T4. 5 and T5. 3), which is a *topos* in suppliant drama, to judge from *Heracl.* 59-61, *Andr.* 129f., 135, 314-420, *HF* 284ff., *Hel.* 315, 324, also A. *Supp.* 872-910, S. *OC* 813ff. The infinitive *σωθῆναι* in T4. 11f. suggests that Danae's life was threatened (cf. note *ad loc.*).

(4) Fr. 4, which is the formal proem of a rhetorical speech, and the comment on Polydectes' loquacity of fr. 5 hint at an *agōn* between Polydectes and another character; the king's opponent is perhaps likelier to be Dictys than Perseus, as the former's participation in a rhetorical contest would bring him to the centre of dramatic interest, illustrating his *dianoia* and justifying why the play was named after him. If Dictys was the king's rival at the debate, then fr. 3 pointing to their conflict may belong here.

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[294] Cf. Webster (1967) 63, Aélion (1986) 158f.
[295] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 92.
[296] For the *Heracles,* cf. Maio (1977) 26f.
[297] For the types of confrontation in suppliant-plays, cf. Kopperschmidt (1971) 345 and Maio (1977) 14-24.

(5) A discussion between Polydectes and another character about the effects of the king's plans for Danae on his family (frr. 6-8). In view of the remarkable prominence given to this topic and the emphasis on the father-son relationship, the king's interlocutor might have been his son, stressing the strong priority, which Polydectes should give his children rather than his desire for Danae (for more detail, cf. introductory note on fr. 6). Fr. 9 was probably spoken by the king rejecting the *νουθέτησις* against amorous passion and is likely to belong to the same context.

(6) Reversal of action: Perseus returns to Seriphos (T3, T4, T5), perhaps at a point of culmination of the suppliant-enemy conflict (are the lives of the suppliants in jeopardy, as in *HF* 451-513, *Andr.* 425-544?). He is likely to have narrated his exploit [298] (like Bellerophon in *Sthen.* fr. 665a Kn.). One of the listeners (i.e. Dictys, Danae or the chorus-leader) praises his courage (fr. 10). Perseus would have been informed of the critical situation and undertaken the task of rescuing his mother and Dictys ('suppliant-deliverer' confrontation, as in *HF* 562-636, *Andr.* 547-576). If an on-stage confrontation of Perseus with Polydectes occurred (cf. next scene), then Danae and/or Dictys would have been encouraged to exit, so that one of the two actors returns as Polydectes.

? (7) There is no sound evidence pointing to an on-stage encounter between Perseus and Polydectes (a 'deliverer-enemy' confrontation). Two possibilities seem to arise:

(a) Perseus, like Heracles, goes directly into the palace, where Polydectes is holding a feast (cf. notes on T4. 1-3, T5. 2-4) and petrifies him and his guests; in the *Heracles*, however, the rapid move to revenge is designed to lead us into a false sense of moral satisfaction in preparation for the terrible events to follow and is thus part of a more complex whole. T5 presenting Perseus as entering the palace directly after having found Danae and Dictys as suppliants is not binding as such, for the accounts of the *Bibliotheca* which reflect dramatic plots tend to be quite brief, without revealing any details of the dramatic action. Nonetheless, the possibly theatrical nuance of the vocabulary (cf. especially *εἰσελθών* pointing to dramatic space and note *ad loc.*, and for more detail, cf. introductory note on T5) could imply that this part of the account may be reproducing a Euripidean hypothesis, which would tell in favour of the precision of the narrative.

(b) There was a confrontation between Perseus and Polydectes in visible space, in which the former traps the king into agreeing to look at

[298] So Webster (1967) 61f., Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82.

the Gorgon's head, probably at a feast; this type of revenge can be paralleled to the ploys in *Med.* 869-975, *Hec.* 976-1022, *El.* 1123-1146, *Cresphontes* (Hyg. *fab.* 184 and Harder 1985, 53). An on-stage confrontation of this type would point to a straightforward revenge-play (unless there were any now unrecoverable plot-complications, demanding a more rapid dénouement, as in the *Heracles*). Moreover, the on-stage encounter of Perseus with Polydectes would give potential for dramatic irony, as the king is unaware of his imminent death (cf. *El.* 1093-1096 and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*, 1141, also *Hec.* 1021f.). An *agōn* between Perseus and Polydectes, as suggested by Jouan and van Looy,[299] cannot be completely excluded, though it would presuppose conflict, which would not serve Perseus' purpose of trapping the king;[300] instead, a kind of feigned reconciliation, as in the *Hecabe* and *Cresphontes*, may seem likelier, at least on grounds of probability.[301]

(8) Since death or miraculous changes are not feasible on stage,[302] a messenger would have entered to announce Polydectes' petrification possibly at a feast (cf. notes on T4. 1-3, T5. 2-4). This narrative would have had a concluding function [303] and is likely to have illustrated the unexpected shift from royal status to utter ruin, as in *Med.* 1156-1230 and *Ba.* 1043-1152.[304] The switch from festive mood to agony recalls the reported banquet-scene in *Ion* 1106-1228.

(9) Exodos: A *deus ex machina* might have appeared to announce the fate of the characters, presumably to reward Dictys for his righteousness and provide the aetion for the 'Gorgoneion' on the *aegis* of Athena (for more detail, cf. *Dramatis Personae*).

The play was evidently built upon the patterns of 'supplication' and 'return-rescue-revenge',[305] which were followed by Euripides later in the first part of the *Heracles*. More specifically, the *Dictys* seems to have been constructed upon a central altar-scene (cf. T3, T4, T5), as the *Heraclidae*,

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[299] Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82.

[300] An exception is the *agōn* in the *Electra*, which does not destroy Electra's revenge-scheme, as the conflict is tempered by Clytaemestra's regrets and defencelessness; cf. Cropp (1988) 168.

[301] A mock reconciliation is favoured by Webster (1967) 62.

[302] Cf. Bremer (1976) 35ff., De Jong (1991) 117-131, 172ff., Rehm (1992) 61f.

[303] Cf. De Jong (1991) 123-128. Messenger-speeches with concluding function are those in *Med.* 1136-1230, *Heracl.* 799-866, *Hipp.* 1173-1254, *Andr.* 1085-1165, *Supp.* 650-730, *IT* 1327-1419, *Hel.* 1526-1618, *Ph.* 1356-1424, 1427-1479, *Or.* 1395-1502, *Ba.* 1043-1152.

[304] For this technique, cf. De Jong (1991) 35-38.

[305] Cf. Burnett (1971) 9f., 165, Lattimore (1964) 50-52, Burian (1997) 188f., Garzya (1962) 131.

Andromache, *Suppliant Women*, *Heracles* and *Helen*.[306] So far as our evidence goes, it appears to have focused on the 'suppliant-enemy' confrontation (cf. T3, T4, T5, frr. 3, 13 and possibly frr. 4, 5 of the *agōn*), as the *Heracles* and *Andromache*.[307] The *Dictys* is also a *nostos*-play;[308] the archetype of this story-pattern is found in the *Odyssey* and followed in Aeschylus' *Persae* and *Agamemnon*, Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and Euripides' *Andromache* and *Heracles*.[309] In all these plays, the absent figure is away on a mission, but central to the preoccupations of the characters left behind (cf. fr. 2 and perhaps also fr. 12), who, in turn, assume great importance (as Atossa, Deianeira, Andromache, Megara and Amphitryon, Dictys and Danae in our play).[310] The *Dictys*—like the first part of the *Heracles*— seems to have followed the pattern of the *Odyssey* beyond the *nostos* to the specific question whether the hero is alive or not (according to fr. 2, Perseus is thought to be dead). Perseus' return, as that of Odysseus and Heracles, comes as a surprise, possibly in the nick of time for the rescue of Danae and Dictys (cf. note on T4. 4f.), according to the pattern of 'catastrophe survived'. The hero's *nostos* was presumably both critical and effective, as can be inferred by its depiction on the Apulian vase-painting (T3), which obviously aimed to offer its viewers a recollection of the play.[311]

The *Dictys* can also be described as a play of mixed reversal, ending with good fortune for the righteous characters and misfortune for the villains. This type of plot-structure was particularly appreciated by the audiences (though not by Aristotle himself, cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1453A 30-35) and was followed by Euripides in the *Heraclidae*, the first part of the *Heracles*, as well as the lost *Stheneboea* (hyp. *Stheneboea, TrGF* V,2 645f.), *Oeneus* (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 418 Wilson), *Cresphontes* (Hyg. *fab.* 184, *A.P.* 3.5), *Captive Melanippe* (Hyg. *fab.* 186, D.S. 4. 67), *Antiope* (Hyg. *fab.* 8, schol. A.R. 4. 1090 Wendel) and *Alcmeon in Corinth* ([Apollod.] 3.7, fr. 76 Kn. and Jouan and van Looy 1998, 99). Considering that the *Dictys* is anterior to all Euripidean plays, which are known to have been built upon the 'supplication' and 'return-rescue-revenge' patterns, it seems

[306] Cf. Strohm (1957) 17-30, Dingel (1967) 54f., Kopperschmidt (1971) 335-343.
[307] For the *Heracles* and *Andromache*, cf. Maio (1977) 21f.
[308] For the term, cf. Taplin (1977) 124.
[309] Features of the *nostos*-pattern occur also in A. *Choephoroi*, the *Electra* plays by Sophocles and Euripides and the latter's lost *Cresphontes* (cf. Harder 1985, 14).
[310] Cf. Taplin (1977) 124f., Lloyd (1994) 3f.
[311] Cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) 174f.

to have been one of the earliest treatments of these types of plot-structure by the dramatist.

5. The Setting of the Play

According to the iconographic evidence of T3 (providing the supplements for T4. 7 and probably T6. 2), we know that Danae and Dictys sought refuge at the altar of Poseidon in Seriphos. The dedication of the shrine to Poseidon might be related to the mythographically attested descent of Polydectes from the god (cf. Pherecydes fr. 10 Fowler [312]), provided that Euripides had chosen to follow that particular genealogical tradition. The *skēnē*-building could have represented Polydectes' palace (cf. *Andromache* and *Helen*) [313] or Dictys' hut (cf. *Electra*).[314] It should be noted, however, that Polydectes' palace as setting would be preferable, as it conforms to all recoverable scenes of the play (cf. Plot-Structure), whereas Dictys' hut does not seem to be the proper background, e.g. for Polydectes' conversation with the character of frr. 6-9, who could have been someone other than one of the suppliants (perhaps his own son? cf. introductory note on fr. 6), which would make the palace the likeliest background for this scene. Moreover, the representation of the dwelling of the hostile character on the façade, as distinguished from the altar, where the sympathetic characters are forced to seek refuge, as in the *Andromache* and *Helen,* would serve to designate each party's 'personal space',[315] and, in turn, indicate the conflict between them. If the altar was located at a distance from the palace-door, as possibly in both extant plays mentioned,[316] the use of proxemic space would serve to designate the former as the opposing area to the hostile residence,[317] as well as illustrate the power-gap and tension between the suppliants and the spiteful possessor of the palace.

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[312] Cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 120, n. 239.
[313] So Welcker (1839) I 669.
[314] This suggestion was made by Webster (1967) 62. Jouan and van Looy (2000, 79) regard both settings as possible.
[315] For the 'personal space' of the performers, cf. Rehm (2002) 2, 169-175, Kampourelli (2002) 71.
[316] For the staging of the *Andromache* and *Helen*, cf. Poe (1989) 125-127, 130.
[317] Cf. Joerden (1971) 408, Kampourelli (2002) 72, 83.

As regards the question arising in all suppliant-plays whether the altar stood on stage [318] (i.e. the area extending along the front of the *skēnē*-building at the rear of the orchestra[319]) or further forward in the orchestra,[320] the evidence even from extant plays remains inconclusive. Moreover, Poe's cautious text-based observations on the dramatic action of each suppliant-play point to the possibility that the location of the altar could have been arranged to suit the dramatic needs of each play.[321] It is thus self-evident that it would be highly speculative to reconstruct the staging of a lost tragedy, not least of the *Dictys*, from which no larger fragments survive.

As in all Euripidean plays built on a central altar-scene (cf. *Heraclidae, Andromache, Suppliant Women, Helen* and the first part of the *Heracles*), upon the opening of the *Dictys* the suppliants are likely to have been 'discovered' at their places, according to the technique of 'cancelled entry'.[322] This practice serves to provide the semblance of duration, indicating that the supplication has been in progress long before the play begins.[323] It also offers an imposing initial tableau stressing the religious and emotional associations of supplication.[324] Furthermore, the immobility and passiveness of the characters in the tableau constitute visual suggestions of their helplessness and thus of the dramatic tension which is to occur in the course of the play.[325]

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[318] So Arnott (1962, 43-53), who based his argumentation for the existence of a permanent stage-altar used in suppliant-plays on the references to the agyieus, which was evidently the conventional token of a house and unlikely to be related to the suppliants' altar. For the function of the agyieus, cf. Poe (1989) 130-137.

[319] I am using Poe's definition (1989, 118).

[320] So Rehm (1988) 263-307, Wiles (1997) 72-75, 188 and Rehm (2002) 41. Rehm (1988, 277-279) questions the formal separation of the actors' performance area from the orchestra in the fifth-century theatre, owing to the lack of evidence for a fifth-century circular orchestra perceived as reserved for choral dance, which would have entailed a separate stage area. Moreover, there is sound evidence for fifth-century orchestras of rectangular/ trapezoidal shape, presumably released from the above mentioned spatial restrictions imposed by a circular orchestra; for archaeological evidence on this matter, cf. Gebhard (1974) 428-440, Pöhlmann (1981) 135-146, (1986) 23 and for further bibliography, Rehm (2002) 315, n. 17.

[321] Cf. Poe (1989) 117-130.

[322] Cf. Taplin (1977) 134.

[323] Cf. Taplin (1977) 134-136, Halleran (1985) 80.

[324] Cf. Allan (2001) 39, Collard (1975_a) 17.

[325] Cf. Halleran (1985) 80.

6. Reception of the *Dictys* in Art and Literature

The only piece which can be confidently related to the *Dictys* is the Apulian vase-painting probably inspired by a fourth-century revival of the play in South Italy (Plate I, cf. T3 and note *ad loc.*). The lost Cyzicene relief depicting Perseus as petrifying Polydectes (cf. the *lēmma* in T7) and dated in the second century BC was inspired by the legend, which remained popular after the fifth century, possibly thanks to the *Dictys* (cf. note *ad loc.*). The fragments of Cratinus' *Seriphioi* could suggest a burlesque of the tragic treatments of the myth; sadly, the surviving evidence for the *Dictys* does not go as far as to attest a 'flying' Perseus, which could point to the parody of a tragic crane-scene in the comic play (cf. 1c. The Legend in Attic Comedy).

TESTIMONIA

T 1

ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι πζ΄ ἔτει α΄ (sc. 431[a]). πρῶτος Εὐφορίων, δεύτερος Σοφοκλῆς, τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδείᾳ, Φιλοκτήτῃ, Δίκτυι, Θερισταῖς σατύροις. οὐ σῴζεται.

T 2

ΔΙΚΤΥΣ

T 3 (Vide Tab. I)

Vas. Apul., ca. 370/ 360[a], Princeton University Art Museum 1989. 40, edd. A.D. Trendall et A. Cambitoglou *RVAp Suppl.* 2, I 47, Tab. VI. Ad *Dictyn* Euripidis rettulit I. Karamanou *BICS* 46, 167-175. In ara Neptuni Danae et Dictys sedent oculos in Perseum convertentes, qui e dextra accurrit, e sinistra Polydectes. Omnes praeter Perseum veste scaenica induti sunt. Supra Polydectam Venus cum Amore, supra Perseum duae virgines divinae. Cf. *TrGF* V,2 1160s.

T1 Argum. Ar. Gramm. *Med.* (I 90, ll. 40-43 Diggle)
T2 *IG* XIV, 1152, 17 (Roma; Index Euripidis Fabularum, fortasse II [p])

T1 1 ἐδιδάχθη FAP: ἐδ-δὲ D | ἐπὶ DFP: ὑπὸ A | Πυθοδώρου Brunck: πυθιοδώρου codd. | ὀλυμπιάδι F D: ὀλυμπιάδος P: ὀλυμπῖ[δ] A | ἔτει α΄ Matthiae: ετ F: ῖδ εῖ D: δε A: om. P || 3 μηδεία D: μήδεια FP | φιλοκτήτη F: φιλοκτήτης DP | Δίκτυι Kirchhoff: δίκτι DF: δίκτης P | Θερισταῖς σατύροις Kirchhoff: Θερισταὶ σάτυρος codd.

T 4

[±15] Πολυδέκτηι. λυγρόν τ' [ἔρανον]
[±13] [εὐ]ωχουμένοις γ(ὰρ) αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις
[ἔδειξεν ὁ Περσεὺς τὴ]ν κεφαλὴν κ(αὶ) οὕ(τως) ἀπελιθώθηcαν.
[± 15] oc$^{\varepsilon}$ ε̣[.]ω̣θ̣ ἔcωθεν ἵν' ἧ [[καὶ]] τὴν
[± 15]c . . . βιαζομένης γ(ὰρ) τῆc Δα-
νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ]έκτου cυνέβη αὐτὴν κατα-
[φυγεῖν πρὸ]c τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ <Ποcειδῶνοc>, τὸν δὲ
[Πολυδέκτην] εὐλαβούμενον τὸν Περσέα πέμψαι
[ἐπὶ Μεδούcης] καραtομίαν ὡc ἀπολούμενον καὶ
[± 12] τὸν μ(ὲν) Πολυδέκτην θεωρήcαντα
[τὴν τῆc Γοργόνο]c κεφαλὴν ἀπολιθωθῆναι κ(αὶ) cωθῆ-
[ναι τὴν Δανάη]ν.

T 5

παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Σέριφον , καὶ καταλαβὼν
προσπεφευγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν
μητέρα διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ
βασίλεια, συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους
ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος ἔδειξε· τῶν
δὲ ἰδόντων, ὁποῖον ἕκαστος ἔτυχε σχῆμα ἔχων, ἀπελιθώθη.
καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, ἀπέδωκε
τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνῆν Ἑρμῇ, τὴν
δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος Ἀθηνᾷ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ
προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νύμφαις, Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐν
μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε.

T4 Theon in Pi. *P.* 12 (*P. Oxy.* XXXI 2536. 1-12, ed. Turner; inspexi)
T5 [Apollod.] 2. 4.3 (ed. Wagner)

T4 2 θῆκε· Cεριφίοις·] Treu, *Serta Turyniana*, 68 || 4 oc$^{\varepsilon}$ ε̣[.]ω̣θ̣ ἔcωθεν ἵν' ἧ [[καὶ]] τὴν leg. Treu || 7 Ποcειδῶνοc suppl. Karamanou *BICS* 46, 174 || 10 ἐπανελθόντος] Carey: μηκέτι ἀνιόντα] Treu
T5 2 προσπεφευγυῖαν schol. Tzetz. ad Lyc. 838 : προπεφευγυῖαν A || 4 τὰ βασίλεια R: τὸν βασιλέα A || 11 ἐνέθηκε Heyne: ἀνέθηκε A

T 6 (Vide Tab. II A et II B)

- - - - - - -
] . ηνπ̣ . [
Ποσειδ] ωνος ἱερ̣ [
] δικτ̣υ̣ος [
] . . . ετι̣ . [
] υ̣δ . ᾳ̣γειλ̣[5
] . . . [
- - - - - - -

T 7

Ἐν τῷ ΙΑ Πολυδέκτης, ὁ Σεριφίων βασιλεύς, ἀπολιθούμενος ὑπὸ Περσέως τῇ τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλῇ, διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ γάμον ἐκπέμψας τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν, καὶ ὃν καθ' ἑτέρου θάνατον ἐπενόει γενέσθαι, τοῦτον αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς Δίκης ἐδέξατο. 5

Ἔτλης καὶ σὺ λέχη Δανάης, Πολύδεκτα, μιαίνειν,
δυσφήμοις εὐναῖς τῷ Διὶ μεμψάμενος·
ἀνθ' ὧν ὄμματ' ἔλυσε τὰ Γοργόνος ἐνθάδε Περσεύς,
γυῖα λιθουργήσας μητρὶ χαριζόμενος. 10

T6 *PSI* XII 1286, fr. B (ed. pr. Gallavotti, ed. alt. Bartoletti; inspexi)
T7 *A.P.* 3. 11 (ed. Beckby)

T6 1 π̣ legi: τ̣ε̣ edd. || 2 Ποσειδ] ωνος supplevi, coll. T4. 7: Ἀπόλλ] ωνος Gallavotti || 5 υ̣δ fortasse: ι̣δ edd.
T7 1 Σεριφίων Stadtmüller: σερέφων P || 8 μεμψάμενος P: ἀμειψάμενος Wilamowitz: μεμψαμένης Hecker

FRAGMENTA

Fr. 1 (330b Kn., 1 J.-v.L.):

Σέριφος ἅλμῃ ποντίᾳ περίρρυτος

Fr. 2 (332 Kn., 3 J.-v.L.):

δοκεῖς τὸν Ἅιδην σῶν τι φροντίζειν γόων
καὶ παῖδ' ἀνήσειν τὸν σόν, εἰ θέλεις στένειν;
παῦσαι· βλέπουσα δ' εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ
ῥᾴων γένοι' ἄν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλοις
ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐκμεμόχθηνται βροτῶν
ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὀρφανοὶ τέκνων,
τούς τ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας· ταῦτά σε σκοπεῖν χρεών.

Fr. 1 Phld. *Po.* 2, *P. Herc.* 1676, fr. 11, col. vii 7-12 (ed. Heidmann, *Cron. Ercol.* 1, 90ss.) / Tr. C, col. xviii 7-12 (ed. Sbordone): ἀλλὰ τό γε παρὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν εὐφωνίαν τῶι _____ ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους ἀντιφωνεῖται· τὸ δ' αὐτὴν ψυχαγωγεῖν σύνθεσιν καθ' αὐτὴν ἕτερον οὐδὲν εἰσφερομένην ἀγαθόν, ἀπίθανόν ἐστι.

Fr. 2 [Plut.] *Consol. ad Apoll.* 8, 106A (edd. Paton-Wegehaupt) ὁ δὲ παραμυθούμενος τὴν Δανάην δυσπαθοῦσαν (B: δυσπενθοῦσαν cett.) Δίκτυς φησί_____ κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἴσα καὶ μείζω δυστυχούντων, ὡς ἐσομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.

Fr. 2 2 θέλεις Φ Π: θέλοις cett. || 4 θέλοις codd. plerique: θέλεις Φ Π || 5 ἐκμεμόχθηνται codd.: ἐμμεμόχλευνται Bentley || 7 τούς τ' codd.: τοὺς δ' Nauck | μέγιστον Elmsley ad *Heracl.* 168 : μεγίστης codd.: μεγίστης ὀλβίους Valckenaer

Fr. 3 (337 Kn., 4 J.-v.L.):

μὴ νεῖκος, ὦ γεραιέ, κοιράνοις τίθου·
σέβειν δὲ τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἀρχαῖος νόμος.

Fr. 4 (334 Kn., 13 J.-v.L.):

πολλοῖς παρέστην κἀφθόνησα δὴ βροτῶν
ὅστις κακοῖσιν ἐσθλὸς ὢν ὅμοιος ᾖ,
λόγων ματαίων εἰς ἅμιλλαν ἐξιών.
τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀκουστὸν οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν,
σιγᾶν κλύοντα δεινὰ πρὸς κακιόνων.

Fr. 5 (335 Kn., 17 J.-v.L.):

τυραννικόν τοι πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν.

Fr. 3 Stob. 4. 2.2 W.-H. (Περὶ νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυος S M A, fab. nom. om. L

Fr. 4 Stob. 4. 42. 2 W.-H. (Περὶ τῶν παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχούντων) Εὐριπίδου (S M : τοῦ αὐτοῦ A) Δίκτυος

Fr. 5 Stob. 3. 36. 15 W.-H. (Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας) Εὐριπίδου (M A: τοῦ αὐτοῦ S) Δίκτυος

Fr. 3 1 κοιράνοις Salmasius ap. Grotium: τυράννοις S M A L || 2 εὐ ante σέβειν add. rubricator L

Fr. 4 1 παρέστην S: παρέστιν M: πάρεστι A: πάρος τοι Wecklein, *RhM* 33, 121 || 2 ᾖ S M A: ἦν Wecklein || 4 τὸ δ' S: τοῦδ' M: τοῦ δ' A | οὐκ ἀκουστὸν S M A: οὐκ ἀρεστὸν Vitelli || vv. 4-5 a prioribus separavit Gomperz

Fr. 5 τοι S M: τε A: τι Trinc.

Fr. 6 (338 Kn., 6 J.-v.L.):

ὄντων δὲ παίδων καὶ πεφυκότος γένους
καινοὺς φυτεῦσαι παῖδας ἐν δόμοις θέλεις,
ἔχθραν μεγίστην σοῖσι συμβάλλων τέκνοις.

Fr. 7 (345 Kn., 10 J.-v.L.):

ἐγὼ νομίζω πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα
παισίν τε τοὺς τεκόντας, οὐδὲ συμμάχους
ἄλλους γενέσθαι φήμ' ἂν ἐνδικωτέρους.

Fr. 8 (339 Kn., 7 J.-v.L.):

πατέρα τε παισὶν ἡδέως συνεκφέρειν
φίλους ἔρωτας ἐκβαλόντ' αὐθαδίαν,
παῖδάς τε πατρί· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ αὐθαίρετοι
βροτοῖς ἔρωτες οὐδ' ἑκουσία νόσος.
σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ, 5
θεῶν ἀνάγκας ὅστις ἰᾶσθαι θέλει.

Fr. 6 Stob. 4. 26. 21 W.-H. (Ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυϊ S M A

Fr. 7 Stob. 4. 26. 18 W.-H. (Ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) ἐν ταὐτῶι S M A, scil. Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ (ecl. 16= fr. 8)

Fr. 8 Stob. 4. 26. 16 W.-H. (Ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ S M A

Fr. 6 3 συμβάλλων codd.: συμβαλῶν Bergk ap. Welcker: ἐμβαλῶν Mähly teste Nauck

Fr. 7 1 τέκνα Pflugk et Meineke: τέκνον codd.

Fr. 8 1 ἡδέως συνεκφέρειν S M A : ἠπίως συνεκφέρειν coll. fr. inc. 951 Kn. Stadtmüller *JbbClPh* 25, 529 : εὐμενῶς εἰκὸς φέρειν F.G. Schmidt || 2 φίλους S M: φίλος A : δεῖ τοὺς Meineke | ἐκβαλόντ' Gesner : ἐκβάλλοντ' S M A | αὐθαδίαν Grotius : αὐθάδειαν S M A || 5 σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα S M A: σκαιόν τι δῆτα χρῆμα vel σκαιόν γε δή τι χρῆμα Meineke : σκαιόν τι δὴ τόλμημα F.G. Schmidt: σκαιόν τι δὴ τέχνημα Stadtmüller

Fr. 9 (340 Kn., 8 J.-v.L.):

Κύπρις γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετουμένη χαλᾷ,
ἥν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ, μᾶλλον ἐντείνειν φιλεῖ,
κἄπειτα τίκτει πόλεμον· εἰς δ' ἀνάστασιν
δόμων περαίνει πολλάκις τὰ τοιάδε.

Fr. 10 (344 Kn., 2 J.-v.L.):

νέος, πόνοις δέ γ' οὐκ ἀγύμναστος φρένας.

FRAGMENTA SEDIS MAGIS INCERTAE

Fr. 11 (342 Kn., 12 J.-v.L.):

τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ, πημάτων λελησμένην
ὀρθοῖς;

Fr. 9 Stob. 4. 20b. 48 W.-H. (Ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ S M A || 1-2 Chrysippus fr. 475 von Arnim ap. Galen. *Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 4. 6. 30 (om. poet. et fab. nom.) οὕτως δὲ μακρὰν ἀπέχουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὡς ἂν ἀκοῦσαι ἢ προσέχειν τινὶ τοιούτῳ, ὥστε μηδὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔχει γ' αὐτοῖς λέγεσθαι _____

Fr. 10 Stob. 4. 11. 10 W.-H. (Περὶ νεότητος) Εὐριπίδου (M: τοῦ αὐτοῦ A) Δίκτυϊ, ecl. om. S

Fr. 11 Schol. vet. S. *Ai.* 787 (Christodoulou): τί μ' αὖ τάλαιναν: πρὸς τὸ Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυϊ L: Εὐριπίδης G lem. om.

Fr. 9 1 οὐδὲ S M A, Chrysippus: οὐδὲν Nauck || 2 ἥν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ S (ἄν pro ἥν): ἂν γὰρ βιάζῃ Chrysippus: ἀντ' ἀβιάζῃ M: ἀντ' ἀβιάζην (-ην ex -ειν corr. $A^{m.\,pr.}$) A | ἐντείνειν S M: ἐκτείνειν A || 3 κἄπειτα S A: καίπειτα M

Fr. 10 πόνοις δέ γ' M A: πόνοισι δ' Musgrave | φρένας M A: χέρας Meineke

Fr. 11 1 ex utroque scholio lectionem restituit Kannicht (τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ, π. πεπαυμένην G: τί μ' [[ὦ]] ἄρτι π. λελησμένην L): τί μ' ἀρτίως <αὖ> Papageorgius: <οἴμοι> τί μ' ἄρτι Wansink *De Scholiis Soph. Trag. Veteribus*, 31: τί μ', <ὦ ξέν'>, ἄρτι Wolff teste Nauck

Fr. 12 (346 Kn., 11 J.-v.L.):

εἷς γάρ τίς ἐστι κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος
{καὶ θεοῖσι τοῦτο δόξαν, ὡς σαφῶς λέγω,}
θηρσίν τε πᾶσι, τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν·
τὰ δ' ἄλλα χωρὶς χρώμεθ' ἀλλήλων νόμοις.

Fr. 13 (343 Kn., 9 J.-v.L.):

θάρσει· τό τοι δίκαιον ἰσχύει μέγα.

Fr. 14 (336 Kn., 14 J.-v.L.):

εἰς δ' εὐγένειαν ὀλίγ' ἔχω φράσαι καλά·
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλὸς εὐγενὴς ἔμοιγ' ἀνήρ,
ὁ δ' οὐ δίκαιος κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς
Ζηνὸς πεφύκῃ, δυσγενὴς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

Fr. 12 Stob. 4. 26. 17 W.-H. (Ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας) ἐν ταὐτῶι S M A, scil. Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ (ecl. 16= fr. 8)
Fr. 13 Stob. 3. 13. 5 W.-H. (Περὶ παρρησίας) Εὐριπίδου ἐν Δίκτυϊ S M A: ἐκ Δίκτυος L poet. nom. om.
Fr. 14 Stob. 4. 29a. 1 W.-H. (Περὶ εὐγενείας· ὅτι εὐγενεῖς οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῶντες κἂν μὴ λαμπρῶν ὦσι γεγονότες πατέρων) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ S M A || 1-2 Arist. Περὶ εὐγενείας fr. 94 Rose (ap. Stob. 4. 29c. 52 W.-H.) ὥσπερ φησὶ καὶ Εὐριπίδης οὐχὶ τῶν ἐκ πάλαι σπουδαίων εὐγένειαν φάμενος εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἁπλῶς.

Fr. 12 2 del. West *BICS* 30, 73 | τοῦτο S M A: ταὐτὸ Heath | ὡς Grotius: ὁ S: ὃ M A || 3 πᾶσι, τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν B teste Gaisford: πᾶσι τέκνα τίκτουσιν S A: πᾶσιν τέκνα τίκτουσι M
Fr. 14 3 κἂν S A: καὶ M || 3-4 κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς Ζηνὸς πεφύκῃ S M A: κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς ἴνις (vel γόνος) πεφύκῃ olim Nauck: κἂν ἀμείνονος πατρὸς γένος πεφύκῃ Meineke: κἂν ἀμείνονός τινος πατρὸς πεφύκῃ Hense: κἂν ὁμαίμονος Διὶ πατρὸς πεφύκῃ F.G. Schmidt

Fr. 15 (341 Kn., 15 J.-v.L.):

μή μοί ποτ' εἴη χρημάτων νικωμένῳ
κακῷ γενέσθαι, μηδ' ὁμιλοίην κακοῖς.

Fr. 16 (347 Kn., 18 J.-v.L.):

εἰ δ' ἦσθα μὴ κάκιστος, οὔποτ' ἂν πάτραν
τὴν σὴν ἀτίζων τήνδ' ἂν ηὐλόγεις πόλιν·
ὡς ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ κρίνοιτ' ἂν οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖν
ὅστις πατρῴας γῆς ἀτιμάζων ὅρους
ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖ καὶ τρόποισιν ἥδεται. 5

Fr. 17 (333 Kn., 16 J.-v.L.):

φεῦ φεῦ, παλαιὸς αἶνος ὡς καλῶς ἔχει·
οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χρηστὸς ἐκ κακοῦ πατρός.

Fr. 15 Stob. 4. 31c. 57 W.-H. (Ψόγος πλούτου) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ S M A, eosdem versus sine lemmate coniunctos cum *Cresph.* fr. 459 Kn. hab. Stob. 4. 31d. 96 W.-H. S M A, separaverunt Heath et Musgrave
Fr. 16 Stob. 3. 39. 7-8 W.-H. (Περὶ πατρίδος), ecl. 7 (1-2) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυος S M A, ecl. 8 (3-5) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυος S M: τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δίκτυος A, eclogas coniunxit Barnes
Fr. 17 Stob. 4. 30. 5 W.-H. (Περὶ δυσγενείας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ S M A, v. 1 recurrit in *Aeolo* fr. 25. 1 Kn. || 2 sine fab. nom. affert Chrysippus *Περὶ ἀποφατικῶν* fr. 180. 15 von Arnim

Fr. 15 2 κακῷ Stob. 4. 31c. 57 W.-H.: κακὸν Stob. 4. 31d. 96 W.-H.| μηδ' Stob. 4. 31c. 57, Stob. 4. 31d. 96 M A : μήθ' Stob. 4. 31d. 96 S
Fr. 16 1 πάτραν Musgrave: πόλιν S M A || 2 ηὐλόγεις Elmsley: εὐλόγεις S M A | πόλιν Musgrave: πάτραν S M A || 3 ἔν γ' ἐμοὶ Valckenaer ad *Hipp.* 324: ἐν γέ μοι fere codd. || 4 ὅρους codd.: νόμους Blaydes || 5 ἄλλην S M A: ξένην malit Nauck | καὶ τρόποισιν S M A: κἀκτόποισιν F.G. Schmidt
Fr. 17 1 καλῶς M: καλὸς S A

Fr. 18 (331 Kn., 5 J.-v.L.):

φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι.† καί μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ
οὐκ εἰς τὸ μῶρον οὐδέ μ' εἰς Κύπριν τρέπων.

Fr. 19 (348 Kn., 19 J.-v.L.):

ἀζοίμην

Fr. 18 Stob. 1. 9. 4a W.-H. (Περὶ Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας) Εὐριπίδου Δίκτυϊ F P. In F P haec ecloga coniuncta legitur cum fr. 388 Kn.
Fr. 19 Hsch. α 1475 Latte ἀζοίμην· ἀγανακτοίμην (l. ἀγανακτοῖμι) Εὐριπίδης Δίκτυϊ (Musurus: δικτύου cod.)

Fr. 18 1 φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, καί μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ P (ἔλοι F): φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι, καί μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ Wilamowitz (notae manu scriptae in marginibus exemplaris sui ed. N.[1]): φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, καί μ' ἔρως εἶλέν ποτε Usener ap. Wachsmuth: φίλος γὰρ ἦν μοι, κεἴ μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ Headlam *CR* 15, 106s : φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν, εἴ μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ Nauck : αἰδὼς γὰρ ἐν ἐμοί, κεἴ μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ Schmidt || 2 μῶρον edd. : μωρὸν F P | οὐδέ μ' εἰς Κύπριν τρέπων codd. : οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Κύπριν τρέποι Schmidt
Fr. 19 ἀζοίμην Hesychius, restituit Kannicht: ἀζοίμην Nauck

COMMENTARY

T1:

Aristophanes' succinct prefaces provide the data concerning the subject of the play and other treatments of the same theme, the setting, the identity of the chorus and prologue-speaker, the date of the first performance, the titles of the other plays of the same production, the contesting dramatists, the outcome of the competition at the first performance, occasionally the number of the play in the chronological register of the poet's works (cf. argum. *Alc.*) and a critical judgement of the tragedy (for this feature, cf. argum. *Alc., Supp.*) On the typology of these hypotheses, cf. Zuntz (1955) 131, 139f., Page (1938) liii-lv, Achelis (1913) 518-545, Pfeiffer (1968) 193f. In terms of the *Dictys* in particular, Aristophanes has supplied us with: (1) the date of its first production (431 BC), (2) Euripides' plays of the same production (the *Medea, Philoctetes* and the satyr-play *Theristae*), (3) the poet's contestants (Euphorion and Sophocles) and (4) the result of the competition at the first performance (Euripides won the third prize).

τρίτος Εὐριπίδης Μηδείᾳ, Φιλοκτήτῃ, Δίκτυι: Euripides' third prize in the contest is indicative of his lesser popularity during his own lifetime (his victories amount to five in total, according to Suda s.v. 'Εὐριπίδης' 3695 Adler, for three of which we have didascalic evidence;[326] for this matter, cf. Stevens 1956, 91f., Martin 1960, 248-253), as compared to his great popularity from the fourth century onwards (cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 28-34). Though the plays come from different mythical cycles, the theme of exile, as Müller (2000_a, 71) observed, is shared by all three tragedies of Euripides' production of that year. The choice of this common underlying theme and the treatment of the misery of exile from one's homeland is likely to have appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience in the period of stress at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War; cf. Adkins (1960, 191, n. 13) with reference to *Dictys* fr. 16 (cf. introductory note *ad loc.*), in which a character (perhaps Polydectes) is strongly reproached for preferring another city to his homeland. The wretchedness of exile is stressed in *Med.* 255-258, 328, 359f., while *Philoctetes* fr. 798 Kn. underlines the identification of the

[326] Cf. *TrGF* I: DID D1, C13, C22.

citizen with his *polis* and the overlap of private and communal interests, as pointed out by Pericles in the second year of the War (Th. 2. 60.2-4).

Θερισταῖς σατύροις. οὐ σῴζεται: the phrase *οὐ σῴζεται* evidently refers to the satyr-play *Theristae*. Aristophanes' edition was based on the official fourth-century Athenian copy of the plays belonging to the repertory (cf. General Introduction, p. xv) and is estimated to have comprised the 78 Euripidean plays which were extant by then from the total of 92 plays of his production. Fourteen plays were thus already lost during the fourth century and the *Theristae* seems to have been one of them (cf. Kannicht 1996, 28f.), to judge from the complete absence of quotations and evidence for its theme; had it been included in the edition, it would have stood a good chance of being quoted even once.

It should be noted, however, that *οὐ σῴζεται*, as transmitted, is cut off from its context. Moreover, it cannot be directly linked with *Θερισταῖς σατύροις* in terms of syntax (e.g. with a pronoun as *<ὃ> οὐ σῴζεται*, that is, the play cannot be taken as a neutral), as on the basis of our evidence, references to plays tend to accord with their gender and number; cf. for instance, argum. Ar. *Pax* (Holwerda) deriving from Aristotle and perhaps following his phrasing (fr. 622 Rose): φέρεται ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις δεδιδαχὼς Εἰρήνην ὁμωνύμως ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης. ἄδηλον οὖν, φησὶν Ἐρατοσθένης, πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδαξεν ἢ ἑτέραν καθῆκεν, ἥτις οὐ σώζεται, schol. Arethae Pl. *Apol.* 18B (Greene), also relying on Aristotle (fr. 628 Rose): ἐπεὶ ᾧ ἔτει οἱ Πελαργοὶ ἐδιδάσκοντο, also D. L. 2. 57 and the narrative hypotheses of Euripidean plays: cf. hyp. *Auge*: Αὔγη, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή, hyp. *Scyrioi*: Σκύριοι, ὧν ἀρχή (cf. van Rossum 1998, 2 and her collection of papyrus-hypotheses, 185ff.). To keep the singular of the verb, it may be supposed that Aristophanes wrote *Θερισταῖς σατύροις, <ὅπερ δρᾶμα> οὐ σῴζεται* or something similar, as he widely uses the word *δρᾶμα* in his arguments (three times in argum. *Alcestis*, twice in argum. *Orestes*, cf. also argum. *Hippolytus, Supplices*, S. *Antigone*); for the phrasing, cf. Ath. 8. 57: ἐν Βουταλίωνι, ὅπερ δρᾶμα τῶν Ἀγροίκων ἐστὶν {ἑνὸς} διασκευή. The corrupt and often lacunose state in which Aristophanean prefaces have been transmitted (cf. especially argum. *Phoenissae*,[327] *Supplices, Bacchae* and Zuntz 1955, 139-141) could account for the loss of this phrase in the process. Alternatively, Aristophanes might have written *Θερισταῖς σατύροις, <οἷς> οὐ σῴζονται*; cf. argum. *Hipp.* (he refers to the play in

[327] The phrase *<οὐ> σῴζεται* also occurs in argum. *Phoenissae*, which is, however, seriously corrupt, thus impeding any attempt to trace the development of the text with probability.

accordance with its gender and number): Ἱππόλυτος δεύτερος (. . .) ἐμφαίνεται δὲ ὕστερος γεγραμμένος. The change of *σῴζονται* to *σῴζεται* and the loss of *οἱ* are not difficult to have occured in the process of transmission. If this phrase does not go back to Aristophanes, it may have been a marginal note (e.g. τὸ δρᾶμα οὐ σῴζεται), part of which gradually sneaked into Aristophanes' argument (for parallel intrusions in Aristophanean prefaces, cf. Zuntz 1955, 139f., n. 6). If so, it would have occurred presumably while the *Dictys* and *Philoctetes* were still extant; a safe *terminus ante quem* could be the late second century AD (cf. General Introduction, p. xvi f.).

The theme of the satyr-play is unknown; the most famous myth about reapers is that of Lityerses (schol. Theocr. 10. 41-42 Wendel), who killed passers-by after forcing them to compete with him in a reaping contest and was finally overpowered by Heracles. Cf. Pechstein (1998, 284-286) and Krumreich, Pechstein and Seidensticker (1999, 476) pointing out the satyric elements of this myth, such as the ogre, his molestation of the passers-by, the advent of the hero and the final defeat of the ogre. The Hellenistic poet Sositheus (ca. 280 BC, cf. Suda σ 860 Adler) wrote a *Daphnis or Lityerses* based on this legend; cf. Kannicht (1991) 208-211, Xanthakis-Karamanos (1997) 123ff.

T2:

For this inscription tentatively dated in the second century AD, cf. note on *Danae* T3. It is apparently a list of Euripides' seventy-eight *σωιζόμενα* of the Alexandrian edition, most of which seem to have been obtainable at least among literary circles by the time of this testimony (cf. General Introduction, p. xvi f.). More specifically, the reference to the context of the situation of *Dictys* fr. 2 by the author of the *Consolation to Apollonius* (which may have been written by Plutarch in his youth or by one of his contemporaries[328]) could be suggestive of his direct knowledge of the play.

[328] Cf. Defradas, Hani and Klaerr (1985) 4-12.

T3:

An Apulian red-figure volute-crater dated in 370/360 BC seems to have been inspired by a revival of the *Dictys* in South Italy.[329] In the centre of the scene there is the altar of Poseidon —as evident from the cult-statue of the god— represented by a *naiskos*, where Danae and white-haired Dictys (for Dictys as *γεραιός*, cf. frr. 3, 11) have sought refuge. On the left, Polydectes is looking at them holding a sceptre in his right hand and a sword in his left. Unless attributed to artistic inspiration, the sword may well be suggestive of his violence and threat against the suppliants (cf. T4. 5f.: βιαζομένης γ(ὰρ) τῆς Δα/ [νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ] έκτου, 11f. σωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην, T5: διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν). All three characters are dressed in stage-costumes. On the right, Perseus is depicted in heroic nudity as arriving at Seriphos, wearing a Phrygian cap and carrying his *harpē* and the *kibisis* with the Gorgon's head. Danae and Dictys are looking at the hero with surprise, hope and relief and Dictys is making a 'speaking' gesture[330] towards him. The reaction of the suppliants, as depicted, is reminiscent of that of Amphitryon and Megara upon Heracles' return in *HF* 513-522. Above, on the left, Aphrodite and Eros preside over the scene, alluding to Polydectes' desire for Danae; the impetuosity of Cypris is a recurring theme in the play (cf. frr. 8, 9, 18). The two goddesses on the right are not easily identifiable; I would hazard the guess that they might be Nereids, in view of their role in Perseus' legend (cf. note on *Danae* T5 and Paus. 2. 18.1) and not least because of their close association with Poseidon.[331]

As with most South-Italian tragedy-related vases, this painting is presumably not 'scene-specific';[332] the presence of four speakers on stage is not feasible, unless one of them is silent. On the analogy of *HF* 523-636, the scene of Perseus' return may have well involved the hero, Dictys and Danae. There would be no obvious place for Polydectes and his absence from stage would give the suppliants the opportunity to inform Perseus of their plight. This painting seems to have aimed to offer its viewers a recollection of main themes of the play,[333] such as the dramatic tension of

[329] For the association of this vase-painting with the play, cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) 167-175. This testimony is included by Kannicht in his addenda in *TrGF* V,2 1160f.
[330] For the 'speaking' gesture, cf. Green (1999) 41f.
[331] For the discussion of this possibility, cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) 170.
[332] For this feature of South-Italian vases, cf. Taplin (1993) 27, Green (1994) 51-56, Green and Handley (1995) 68-70, Giuliani (1996) 73-75, 85, Trendall (1990) 227.
[333] For the aims of tragedy-related South-Italian representations, cf. Taplin (1993) 23.

the supplication-scene, Polydectes' desire and violence and the crucial moment of Perseus' return.

In the case of the *Dictys,* iconographic evidence plays a significant role; the association of this vase-painting with the play confirms the accounts of T4 and T5 that upon returning to Seriphos, Perseus finds his mother and Dictys (the name of the latter is mentioned in T5 and also in the scanty remains of T6) as suppliants. Both narratives can thus be safely regarded as providing the outline of the plot of our play (cf. introductory notes *ad loc.*). The vase-painting is also informative of the god, at whose altar Danae and Dictys sought refuge, and thus fills with Poseidon's name the blank left in the papyrus of Theon's commentary (T4. 7),[334] as well as the slight remainder in T6. 2 probably coming from the narrative hypothesis of the play.

T4:

The outline of the plot of the *Dictys* is substantiated by combination of the evidence from this source and T5 with the pictorial testimony of T3 (cf. note *ad loc.*). Theon's account is the earliest surviving literary source for the plot of the play (late first century BC/ early first century AD). It supplies the following pieces of evidence for the *Dictys*: (1) being pressed hard by Polydectes, Danae seeks refuge at <Poseidon's> altar (ll. 5-7), (2) the reference to Polydectes' petrification at a feast could have derived from the play (l. 2f.), (3) Perseus is likely to have arrived in the nick of time to rescue Danae from Polydectes' violence (ll. 10-12). It also provides a quotation from a poetic text (l. 4f., could it come from the *Dictys*?).

The papyrus is dated in the second century AD. Three hands can be distinguished: the first scribe, whose hand preserves the reference to the altar-scene of the play, wrote col. i 1-26. The additions in the intercolumnar space belong to a second hand, while a third hand copied col. i 27-30, the whole of col. ii and probably the *subscriptio*[335] (the hand of the end-title is the same with that of the third scribe, though the letter-forms are written less cursively). The clumsy style of the narrative providing the outline of the plot of the *Dictys,* as well as the omission of several *lēmmata,*[336] imply

[334] Cf. Karamanou (2002-2003) 174.
[335] Cf. Turner on *P. Oxy.* 2536.
[336] Cf. the *lemma ἐρικλάγκταν,* which is added in the intercolumnar space by the second hand, and *τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος* (Pi. *P.* 12. 15), which should have been placed in l. 4 or

that the first scribe was copying parts of Theon's commentary selectively.[337] However, the end-title *ΘΕΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΠΥΘΙΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑ*, which seems to have been written by the third copyist, attests that this is the actual *hypomnēma* of Theon and not an epitome of his commentary.[338] The latter suggests that the hand, which wrote the *subscriptio*, did not regard this text as an epitome. Hence, the third copyist who finished it off seems to have copied Theon's commentary without epitomizing it. In fact, the style of the passage written by the third scribe is evidently better than that of the first hand.

Theon was a man of great learning; apart from Pindar, he is known to have written *hypomnēmata* on the main Alexandrian poets, Homer, textual notes on Sophocles' *Ichneutae* (*P.Oxy.* ix 1174) and a compilation of *λέξεις κωμικαί* and *τραγικαί*.[339] He seems thus to have studied tragedy closely and it is thanks to Theon that *Oedipus* fr. 556 Kn. survives (l. 29f. of this papyrus-fragment). Theon's reference to the Euripidean treatment of the myth in his commentary is possibly due to his own familiarity with the poet's work, Euripides' popularity in his era [340] and, furthermore, to the fact that the *Dictys* was probably the sole surviving tragedy from this phase of the legend by then (for the possible loss of Aeschylus' *Polydectes* during the fourth century, cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy).

1-3 λυγρόν τ' [ἔρανον/ εὐ]ωχουμένοις γ(ὰρ) αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις / [ἔδειξεν ὁ Περσεὺς τὴ]ν κεφαλὴν κ(αὶ) οὕ(τως) ἀπελιθώθησαν: there is a divergence in the interpretation of the ode at this point; the ancient scholium *ad loc.* interprets the *lēmma λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον* as the *eranos* organized by Polydectes to send Perseus after the Gorgon. Theon, on the other hand, refers here to a second feast (different from Polydectes' *eranos*-plot), where Perseus shows the Gorgon's head to the king and his guests, which is the interpretation also provided in schol. vet. *P.* 10. 72a

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5 followed by the scholium referring to Danae's refuge at the altar. It does not seem to fit in l. 4, as there is no room for the *spatium* that follows each *lēmma* in this hand and it cannot fit in l. 5 either, because it would not match the end of l. 4; cf. Turner *ad loc.* In addition, the reference to the Gorgon in ll. 12-14 is probably explanatory to the *lēmma εὐπαράου κρᾶτα Μεδοίσας* (Pi. *P.* 12. 16), which was omitted by the copyist.

[337] So Turner on *P. Oxy.* 2536 and (1968) 119f.

[338] The end-title states whether a scholar's commentary has been abridged or not; cf. for instance, the Didymus-papyrus on Demosthenes (*BKT* I), the *subscriptio* of which specifies that it is a work on Demosthenes' speeches against Philip and not the actual *hypomnēma* of Didymus (*ΔΙΔΥΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΚΩΝ Γ'*); cf. Leo (1960) 390.

[339] Cf. Deas (1931) 31-42, Wendel (1934) 2055-2059, Susemihl (1891-92) II 215-217.

[340] For the influence and popularity of Euripides in Hellenistic times, cf. Funke (1965-1966) 238-242, Perrin (1997) 213f. and n. 64, Easterling (1997) 225 and Lucas (1923) 56f.

(Drachmann); cf. Bernardini (1971) 99-101. The surviving evidence from early mythography does not mention a second feast (in Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler, Perseus urges Polydectes to gather the Seriphian crowd, which is significantly less specific than the present account) and the context of the Pindaric passage does not give a reason to suppose a reference to a second banquet. In fact, Pindar mentions the *eranos* along with Polydectes' offences, for which he is punished: his reducing Danae to slavery and forcing her to cohabitation (λυγρόν τ' ἔρανον Πολυδέκτᾳ θῆκε ματρός τ' ἔμπεδον/ δουλοσύναν τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος). Hence, the *eranos* is better understood in Pindar as the plot organized by the malicious king to get Perseus out of the way.

How should the testimonies of Theon and the scholium on *P.* 10. 72a (Drachmann) then be treated? Theon cannot be safely regarded as reproducing the background of the Pindaric ode in his commentary, to judge from his reference to sources other than Pindar, as for instance Danae's supplication in the *Dictys*, which serves to interpret the *lēmma τό τ' ἀναγκαῖον λέχος*. Considering the often arbitrary and authoritative interpretation of passages by ancient scholiasts (cf. note on *Danae* T1), one may argue that the reference to the second banquet might have been Theon's own inference, which was adopted afterwards by the scholiast on *P.* 10. 72a. However, the recurrence of this scene in T5 in the context of the allusion to the Euripidean plot (cf. also note on T5. 3-5 for the possible reference to theatrical space), as well as Theon's description of the supplication-scene of the *Dictys* in the interpretation of the next *lēmma,* make it likely that he could be reflecting Euripides' play. In such a case, his scholarly attitude would have required the acknowledgement of Euripides' *Dictys* as source of this scene, unless omitted due to the scribe's abridgement of the commentary; in fact, the third scribe, who evidently copied Theon's commentary less selectively than the first one, has explicitly ascribed to Euripides the quotation of *Oedipus* fr. 556 Kn. In the preserved part of l. 2, the *γὰρ* indicates that the sentence starts with *εὐωχουμένοις*, which implies that a short phrase of 12-14 letters is likely to have preceded this sentence in the now lost left part of the column. This possibility might have allowed for a short acknowledgement of the *Dictys* as source (e.g. ΩΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΔΙΚΤΥΙ?). It is self-evident, however, that the physical damage of the papyrus does not allow for anything but speculations. Consequently, the scholium on *P.* 10. 72a may have well relied on Theon's commentary (as schol. vet. *O* 5. 42b Drachmann and schol. *Paean* 2. 37.2 in *P.Oxy.* 841) without naming the source;

Aristarchus, for instance, is not always acknowledged in the ancient Pindaric scholia (cf. Irigoin 1952, 104 and n. 3).

4f. ε[..]ῳθ ἔcωθεν ἵν' ἦι [[καὶ]] τὴν/ [± 15] c : the letters preceding *ἔcωθεν* are illegible. The word *ἔcωθεν* is followed by *ἵν' ἦι*, which is regularly used by scholiasts to introduce the paraphrasis of a poetic text (cf. Maehler 1968, 100) and is preceded, as a rule, by the citation of the poetic excerpt (sometimes followed by a brief explanatory note); cf. schol. vet. Pi. *O.* 8. 37b, *P.* 4. 61, 188b, 195a, *N.* 2. 32a (Drachmann), schol. vet. *Or.* 224, 702 (Schwartz), schol. A.R. 1. 313-314 (Wendel), schol. Lyc. 935 (Scheer). Accordingly, what precedes *ἵν' ἦι* is likely to have been the quotation from a poetic text — not necessarily from Pindar— and what follows it at the end of l. 4 and the lost beginning of l. 5 could have been the paraphrasis of the quotation (cf. Treu 1974, 73-75). In this light, Treu (1974, 72f.) suggested that *ἔcωθεν* could have been the shortened epic Aorist for ἐcώθηcαν (cf. Kühner-Blaß 1904[3], I,2 55 and Monro 1891, 5); shortened forms of this type occur in trimeters from messenger-speeches in *Hipp.* 1247 and *Ph.* 1246 (cf. Bergson, 1959, 15) and in anapaests from choral odes in *Andr.* 287, *HF* 662, *Ph.* 824, S. *Ai.* 167, *Tr.* 504. From the middle of l. 5 onwards, Theon refers to the altar-scene of the *Dictys*; the *γάρ* after *βιαζομένης* evidently links the new sentence with that preceding it. It could thus be assumed that the possible citation in l. 4 and its paraphrasis after *ἵν' ἦι* might have been related to the *Dictys* and directly followed by the reference to the altar-scene of the play. This suggestion may only tentatively be made, provided that no other material was originally intervening between the quotation in question and the allusion to the supplication-scene of the *Dictys* and omitted by the copyist in his process of epitomizing, which would weaken the connection between these two elements. Hence, if *ἔcωθεν* is taken to be the poetic third-Plural form instead of the adverb, it may have referred to the rescue of Danae and Dictys (cf. 11f. cωθῆ[ναι τὴν Δανάην), perhaps in the context of a messenger-speech or a choral ode. If Euripides' play was acknowledged as source of inspiration (unless the acknowledgement was omitted by the copyist or located at the beginning of l. 2, cf. note on ll. 1-3), the reference may have been located at the lost beginning of l. 4, before the quotation (there is space for about 15 letters, which could allow for a short reference and the beginning of the possible quotation).

5f. βιαζομένης γ(ὰρ) τῆς Δα/ [νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ]έκτου: cf. T5. 3: διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν; 'being forced' by the king to marry him/ become his concubine. For Polydectes' violence, cf. also note on 11f.

6f. cυνέβη αὐτὴν κατα/ [φυγεῖν πρὸ]c τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ <Ποcειδῶνοc>: the god's name is supplied by T3 (cf. note *ad loc.*); the copyist was obviously unable to read the name written in his exemplar (cf. Turner's note *ad loc.*), so he left a blank space, estimating the approximate size of the omitted word (nine/ ten letters). Owing to the clumsy style of the passage as epitomized by the first scribe, it is not clearly reported that Danae's refuge at the altar follows Perseus' departure (cf. 8f.), as made explicit in T5. It could also be due to the epitomization of the account that Dictys is not mentioned as having fled to the altar together with Danae. The physical damage of the papyrus leaves it unclear whether his name occured in the previous lines.

9f. ὡc ἀπολούμενον καὶ/ [± 12] τὸν μ(ὲν) Πολυδέκτην θεωρήcαντα: what has been lost from the account is the reference to Perseus' return to Seriphos, which could have been located at the beginning of l. 10. Treu's supplement μηκέτι ἀνιόντα (1974, 68) repeats the meaning of ἀπολούμενον and does not provide the expected piece of information. What is needed, instead, is a supplement denoting 'having returned/ having been rescued'; Prof. Carey suggests ἐπανελθόντοc, which fits the approximate number of 12 missing letters and aptly fills the gap in the narrative. The *καί* in the place of an expected 'but', which would have stressed Perseus' unexpected return, gives a miserably flat narrative, though in view of the clumsy style of the passage written by the first copyist, this should not be surprising.

11f. (τὸν Πολυδέκτην) ἀπολιθωθῆναι κ(αὶ) cωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην: this piece of information suggests that Danae's life was threatened, if she did not yield to Polydectes' intentions. The threat of the hostile party against the suppliants' lives recurs in *Andr.* 245-268, 425-576, *HF* 140-513. Moreover, Polydectes' petrification is here presented as occurring in the nick of time for Danae to be rescued. For the pattern of 'catastrophe survived' followed in the play, cf. Plot-Structure.

T5:

Thanks to T3, we are now confident that the supplication-scene reported in the present source and T4 comes from the *Dictys*. The *Library* is estimated to have been written some time between 50 BC and 250 AD.[341] As regards

[341] For the wide range of dating of this work, cf. Huys (1997) 308, n. 1.

the author's familiarity with Euripides, there is no evidence pointing to his direct knowledge of the plays;[342] he rather seems to have been directly or indirectly indebted to earlier mythographic accounts and Hellenistic commentaries, especially for the learned mythical variants cited.[343] When reflecting plots of Euripides' tragedies, the *Library* often presents similarities to the narrative papyrus-hypotheses of the dramatist's plays (possibly written in the Augustan era[344]) in terms of content and, sporadically, phrasing.[345] It has thus been deduced that these parts of Ps.-Apollodorus' narratives could originate in Euripidean hypotheses probably through the use of intermediary sources.[346]

The present account (l. 1f., which can safely be regarded as reflecting the *Dictys,* and perhaps also ll. 3-5) presents certain stylistic features shared by the mythographic hypotheses of Euripidean plays: the use of the participle *παραγενόμενος,* which frequently occurs in the hypotheses to indicate the first entrance of a hero on stage (Perseus does not seem to have appeared earlier in the play, cf. Plot-Structure, p. 135),[347] and the accumulation of participles (eight participles within a few lines).[348] Taken alone, these features may be coincidental (*παραγενόμενος*, for instance, is quite common in narratives from the classical period onwards), but in combination with the dramatic quality of the presentation (cf. the possibly theatrical nuance of the participles *καταλαβών* and *εἰσελθών* and notes *ad loc.*) they could suggest that the account might go back to the narrative hypothesis of the play. Even so, Ps.-Apollodorus may have relied on intermediary sources, as the details and complications of the dramatic plot are missing from his account. T6 seems to be a remain of the hypothesis of the *Dictys*, but is too scanty to shed any light on this matter; it refers to the altar-scene and mentions the name of the god, which is omitted here. However, the complete loss of context allows only for conjecture as to its reconstruction (cf. note on T6. 2f.).

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[342] This observation was first made by Robert (1873) 55.
[343] Cf. Huys (1997) 314f., 326f.
[344] Cf. Zuntz (1955) 138f.
[345] Cf. [Apollod.] 3. 12.5 and hyp. *Alexandros* (*P.Oxy.* 3650), 3. 13.8 and hyp. *Scyrioi* (*PSI* 1286, col.ii, 11. 15-16), Ep. 5. 23 and hyp. *Troades,* Ep. 6. 26-27 and hyp. *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1. 9.27 and hyp. *Peliades* (P.*Oxy.* 2455, fr. 18, col. ii, 8); cf. Huys (1997) 318-325 and Rusten (1982) 357 and n. 2.
[346] So Huys (1997) 326f. and van Rossum (1998) 26-28.
[347] Cf. hypp. *Alcestis, Andromache, Hecabe, Iphigenia in Tauris, Alexandros, Hypsipyle* and Turner (1958) 11, Krenn (1971) 17, 191, Luppe (1986) 7.
[348] Cf. van Rossum (1998) 9f., Budé (1977) 116f.

The present account offers the following pieces of evidence for the *Dictys*: (1) Polydectes' violence has forced Danae and Dictys to flee to an altar (l. 3; thanks to T3, we know that it was Poseidon's altar), (2) Perseus returns to Seriphos with the Gorgon's head to find his mother and Dictys at the altar (l. 1f.), (3) he petrifies Polydectes (for the possibility of his petrification at a feast, cf. note on ll. 3-5). The narrative of the *Library* was evidently the source of Tzetzes' account of this phase of the legend in schol. Lyc. 838 (Scheer).[349]

The passage from [Apollod.] 2. 4.2 narrating the events at the *eranos* organized by Polydectes to trap Perseus is not included in the sources for the *Dictys*, as it presents marked similarities to the summary of Pherecydes' narrative (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 122f.)[350] and thus seems to reflect the myth in general. This *eranos* would have probably belonged to the *προπεπραγμένα* recounted in the prologue of the *Dictys* and would not have formed part of the actual plot of the play.

1f. καταλαβὼν προσπεφευγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν μητέρα: the altar-scene is also attested in T3, T4 and probably also in T6, though in the present source, unlike Theon's account (cf. note on T4. 6f.), it is made clear that Danae and Dictys were forced to seek refuge at the altar during Perseus' absence and not before his departure. The specific nuance of *καταλαβών* (*LSJ*[9]: 'to find on arrival') suggests that Perseus actually finds them at the altar; the dramatic quality of the presentation may imply that the account could have gone back to the narrative hypothesis of the play (cf. also note on ll. 3-5). Cf. similarly, hyp. *Hipp.* 30-32: τραχυνόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ Φαίδρα καταμαθοῦσα ('to perceive with the senses'). In addition, *προσπεφευγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς* recalls hyp. *Heracl.*: προσφυγὼν τοῖς θεοῖς.

3 διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν: cf. T4. 5f.: βιαζομένης γ(ὰρ) τῆς Δα/ [νάης ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυδ]έκτου. The king could have used threats against Danae's life, to judge from T4. 11f.: σωθῆ [ναι τὴν Δανάην (cf. note *ad loc.*).

3-5 εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος ἔδειξε: the verb *εἰσέρχομαι* regularly occurs in tragedy (*LSJ*[9]: 'to come upon the stage, to enter') with reference to the actors' entry into the stage-building: cf. *Alc.* 912, 1114, *Ion* 69, 1547, S. *Ai.* 329, *El.* 1106, *OT* 1244. The phrase *εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια* refers to Perseus' entry into

[349] For Tzetzes' debts to the *Library*, cf. Diller (1935) 304, Carrière and Massonie (1991) 18.

[350] For Ps.-Apollodorus' debt to Pherecydes, cf. van der Valk (1958) 117ff.

Polydectes' palace, which is likely to have been represented by the *skēnē*-building (cf. Setting), and may thus be alluding to theatrical space. Here again, the passage might point to the possible origin of Ps.-Apollodorus' account in the narrative hypothesis of the play (cf. introductory note). The reference to the petrification of Polydectes and his friends at a feast diverges from Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler (where Perseus asks the king to gather the Seriphian crowd). Considering that (a) the petrification at a feast is mentioned here in the context of the allusion to the Euripidean plot, (b) the feast also occurs in T4. 1-3 again in the context of the reference to the plot of the *Dictys* and seems rather unlikely to originate in Pindar (cf. note *ad loc.*) and (c) taking additionally into account the dramatic quality of the presentation and the features, which Ps.-Apollodorus' testimony shares with narrative hypotheses of Euripides' plays (cf. introductory note), the petrification-scene at the banquet is likely to originate in the *Dictys*. If so, the events at the feast would have been reported in a messenger-speech (cf. Plot-Structure). Cf. similarly, the narrative of the events at the banquet in *Ion* 1106-1228 (and Lee 1997, 279) stressing the sudden shift from festive excitement to disaster.

7-11: This part of the narrative follows Pherecydes closely (cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 124). It remains unknown whether Euripides followed the mythographic version and assigned Dictys with the kingship of Seriphos. For this issue and the possibility of the aetiology of the 'Gorgoneion', cf. Plot-Structure.

T6:

PSI 1286 comes from a roll and is written along the fibres in a regular round bilinear hand dated at the end of the second century AD; the upper margin is preserved and the back of the roll is blank.[351] Fr. A consists of two columns, the first of which preserves the end of the narrative hypothesis of the *Rhesus* and the second the end of hyp. *Rhadamanthys* and the opening of hyp. *Scyrioi*. Hence, this is evidently a roll containing mythographic hypotheses of Euripides' plays, which were, as a rule, arranged in alphabetic order.[352] Fr. B, which has been preserved together

[351] Cf. the description of Galavotti (1933) 177 and Bartoletti's note on *PSI* XII 1286.
[352] Cf. van Rossum (1998) 2-4.

with fr. A and has remained unidentified so far,[353] is the focus of the present inquiry; it is a small, tattered scrap written in exactly the same hand as fr. A, which indicates that it comes from the same roll.

The legible elements of this piece are] ΩNOC IEP [in l. 2 and] ΔIKTYOC [in l. 3. Dictys is a mythical figure associated in ancient sources exclusively with Danae's myth (cf. The Legend) and there is no evidence for his role in any other Euripidean play apart from the *Dictys*. His name is thus very suggestive of the possibility that this is a slight remainder of the hypothesis of the *Dictys*. Moreover, the reference to the shrine of a god, whose name ends in –ωvoc points to the altar of Poseidon, where Danae and Dictys fled as suppliants, which accords with the evidence for the play provided in T3 and T4 (also in T5, which, however, does not mention the god's name). Hence, I suggest that Dictys' name and the additional trace of the reference to the altar-scene of the play provided in a fragment from a roll containing hypotheses of Euripidean plays could identify this piece as a scanty relic of the narrative hypothesis of the *Dictys* with much probability.

The fact that the hypothesis of a play, the first letter of which starts with Δ, has been discovered together with those from plays starting with P and Σ (fr. A), while there is no trace of the hypotheses of the intervening plays, raises questions as to how frr. A and B ended up together, since they were evidently coming from distant parts of the roll. The sole known arrangement of mythographic hypotheses in an order other than alphabetical is the collection of hypp. *Peliades* and *Medea* (*P.IFAO* inv. *P.S.P.* 248) grouped together on the basis of theme,[354] which evidently does not apply here. It could thus be supposed that the state in which the fragments were discovered and the manner in which they were gathered upon excavation may account for this rather unusual case. The fact that these fragments are of unknown provenance and were acquired by purchase could shed light on the situation; unlike organized excavations under trained directors, papyrus-finds unearthed by locals were often ruined by the coarse methods employed, scattered and some of them thrown away to evade the inspection of Antiquities Service. Subsequently, the finds were divided among the finders and in turn, texts found together were not kept together, but were sold in small parcels and their provenance would remain

[353] Jouan and van Looy (2000, 83) and Kannicht (*TrGF* V,1 382) mention this piece, without arguing, however, for its identification as part of the hypothesis of the *Dictys*.
[354] Cf. van Rossum (1998) 2, n. 8.

unknown.[355] This factor may well account for the missing intervening hypotheses, which might have either been ruined during excavation or thrown away or even ended up with other byers and in this case, their scraps may still lurk unrecognised or unpublished. Fr. B might have derived from a part of the roll adjacent to fr. A while folded, which could explain why they were discovered together and ended up being sold together.

Gallavotti, who was the first to edit this papyrus, attempted to associate fr. B with the hypothesis of the *Rhadamanthys* preserved in fr. A.[356] The remains of this hypothesis do not shed much light on the subject of the play; the account mentions Rhadamanthys and his daughters, the Dioscuri, who are killed in a fight and whose association with Rhadamanthys is nowhere else attested, and Helen, who is commanded by Artemis *ex machina* to bury her brothers. Owing to the lack of evidence for the activity of the Dioscuri in the play, Gallavotti merely assumed a fusion of two of their famous deeds, namely their recuperation of Helen, who was abducted by Theseus and brought to Aphidna, conflated with their battle against the sons of Aphareus, where they were all killed except for Pollux.[357] As has been noted,[358] however, the treatment of the conquest of Aphidna and the recuperation of Helen by the Spartan heroes in Attic drama would be unflattering for Athens and Theseus, unless modified in a certain manner. The subject of the play and Rhadamanthys' involvement in these events (perhaps as a judge?) thus remain obscure and subject to much conjecture. Gallavotti attempted to accommodate fr. B and Dictys' name in his highly conjectural reconstruction, by identifying Dictys with a Centaur mentioned only in Ovid *Met.* 12. 334-340 as killed by Peirithous in the latter's nuptial banquet.[359] To accept this suggestion, however, one should have to assume first, that Peirithous had a role in the play as Theseus' companion (which would presuppose a treatment of the events in Aphidna), moreover, that incidents from Peirithous' wedding occurred in the *Rhadamanthys* in the same context with the deeds of the Dioscuri (which seems irreconcilable) and, furthermore, that a very marginal figure appearing only in Ovid and nowhere else played a role sufficiently

[355] For the problems caused by the activity of the locals, cf. Turner (1968) 26, 35 and Graves (1885) 237, presenting his own experience.
[356] Cf. Gallavotti (1933) 184.
[357] For the first version, cf. Hdt. 9. 73, Paus. 1. 41, 2. 22.6, Plut. *Th.* 32, Hyg. *fab.* 79 and Guidorizzi (2000) 321 and for the second, cf. Pi. *N.* 10. 55ff., Theoc. 22. 137ff., [Apollod.] 3. 134-137, Hyg. *fab.* 80.
[358] Cf. Hermary (1986) 590.
[359] Cf. Gallavotti (1933) 184.

prominent to be mentioned in the hypothesis.[360] To accommodate the shrine of a god, whose name ends in –ωνος, Gallavotti used another version of the legend of Dioscuri, that of their abduction of Phoebe and Hilaeira, for whom they entered into fight with the sons of Aphareus; he supposed that the shrine mentioned could have been that of Apollo, as in the *Cypria* (cf. Paus. 3. 16.1) the two maidens —regularly mentioned as daughters of Leucippus— were presented as Apollo's daughters.[361] However, there is no evidence at all for the role of Phoebe and Hilaeira in the play and the girls mentioned are daughters of Rhadamanthys.

Hence, in order to accommodate fr. B in hyp. *Rhadamanthys*, one would have to ignore the congruence of the known evidence for the *Dictys* with the legible parts of fr. B, in favour of a very hypothetical reconstruction due to lack of evidence, involving a very marginal figure from an evidently irrelevant incident of Peirithous' myth, whose role in the play is unattested, conflated with different versions of the legend of Dioscuri.

2f.: The fragment seems to refer to the flight of Danae and Dictys to the altar of Poseidon. Taking the rather fixed stylistic features of this type of hypotheses into account (cf. note on *Danae* T5), the context might be hypothetically reconstructed as (Danae) ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσειδ] ῶνος ἱερ [ὸν κατέφυγε μετὰ τοῦ] Δίκτυος (cf. hyp. *Andromache*: κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Θέτιδος) or τῷ Ποσειδ] ῶνος ἱερ [ῷ προσέφυγε μετὰ τοῦ] Δίκτυος (cf. hyp. *Heraclidae*: προσφυγὼν τοῖς θεοῖς). Likewise, the account of T5, the stylistic features of which may suggest that it could have gone back to the mythographic hypothesis of the play possibly through an intermediary source, mentions *προσπεφευγυῖαν τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος*.

In conclusion, this tiny scrap mentioning Dictys' name and the shrine of a god, the traces of whose name match that of Poseidon, may be regarded with much likelihood as coming from the lost narrative hypothesis of the *Dictys*. It is congruent with the testimonies of T3, T4 and T5 as regards the altar-scene of the play, though, sadly, it is too scanty to offer any new piece of evidence for the plot.[362]

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[360] One could argue that this may have been a narrated element in the play (e.g. in the expository prologue or a messenger-speech), which would again be questionable for the above mentioned reasons. It should also be borne in mind that a narrative hypothesis is a summary aiming to report those events which are essential for the sequence of the plot.

[361] Cf. Gallavotti (1933) 184.

[362] I am indebted to Prof. C. Roemer for comments on this papyrus-fragment.

T7:

The Eleventh Epigram of Book III of the Palatine Anthology was inspired by one of the reliefs from the Cyzicene temple that was built in honour of Queen Apollonis of Pergamos.[363] This monument was raised in the second century BC [364] and dedicated to Apollonis by her sons Eumenes and Attalus; for this reason, all the reliefs of the temple and the corresponding epigrams, which were written not earlier than the sixth century A.D.,[365] were expressive of filial devotion. Each one of the nineteen epigrams is preceded by a *lēmma*, which is a description of the relief, possibly dated in the fifth century A.D. at the earliest.[366]

The reason for studying this epigram and its *lēmma* lies in the reception of tragedy[367] and especially of Euripidean drama in many of these Cyzicene reliefs and their corresponding epigrams; they allude to the *Phoenix* (III 3.5f.),[368] *Cresphontes* (III 5)[369], *Antiope* (III 7), *Hypsipyle* (III 10)[370] and *Captive Melanippe* (III 16).[371] Accordingly, Radinger suggested that the eleventh relief and epigram of the Cyzicene monument could have echoed the *Dictys*.[372]

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[363] For Queen Apollonis, cf. van Looy (1976) 151-165.

[364] Between 175 and 159, according to van Looy and Demoen (1986, 135).

[365] On the basis of language and metre; cf. the detailed study of Demoen (1988) 233-248 and also Meyer (1911) 70.

[366] Meyer (1911, 53-68) regards the fifth century as the terminus post quem for the dating of the *lēmmata*, owing to the striking features of Byzantine rhetoric in their vocabulary and style.

[367] The ninth relief and epigram were inspired by Sophocles' *Tyro*, while the second accords with the story told by Hyginus in *fab.* 100, which, according to Aelian (*N.A.* 3. 47), reflects a tragic plot, possibly that of Sophocles' *Mysoi*; cf. Sutton (1984) 78ff., Pearson (1917) II 71f., Robert (1887) 246f. and Radinger (1897) 124 and n. 2.

[368] The relief depicting the blinding of Phoenix by his father at the presence of his mother Alcimede and the matching epigram must rely on a fusion of the Homeric (*Il.* 9. 447-477) and the Euripidean version of the legend: the artist probably 'borrowed' the figure of Phoenix's mother Alcimede from Homer, while the blinding of Phoenix by his father Amyntor as the result of false accusations by his father's concubine (III 3. 5: *δολίοις ψιθυρίσμασιν*) was introduced by Euripides in his *Phoenix*; cf. Jouan and van Looy (2002) 316f.

[369] So Harder (1985) 55.

[370] Cf. Bond (1963) 19, 139.

[371] The relation of these epigrams to Euripidean tragedy was supported by Radinger (1897) 124 and n. 2 and Calderini (1913) 350-372.

[372] Cf. Radinger, *loc. cit.*

The treatment of Euripidean themes in the lost reliefs —as indicated by the descriptions in the *lēmmata* that precede the epigrams— is not surprising, to judge from the popularity of Euripides in Hellenistic times,[373] when this monument was raised. As regards the relief, which depicted Perseus as showing the Gorgon's head to Polydectes, what needs to be asked is whether the source of artistic inspiration was the myth in general or a specific treatment, as, for instance, Euripides' *Dictys*. As already observed (cf. The Legend, 1d. Later Versions), though the theme of Polydectes' petrification inspired wide literary and artistic production during the fifth century, no more treatments of the theme are attested from the fourth century onwards (apart from the echoes of the *Dictys*), which could imply that this phase of the myth survived in the Hellenistic era thanks to a popular earlier treatment of the legend. Considering that the *Dictys* seems to have been popular in the fourth century (cf. its reception in T3 pointing to a fourth-century revival outside Athens) and afterwards (to judge from Theon's testimony in T4 and the number of surviving quotations), it could have supported the survival of the legend in Hellenistic times. Hence, though the relief did not depict an actual scene from the Euripidean *Dictys* (Polydectes' petrification would have been reported in a messenger-speech), it could have been inspired by the myth which remained popular in Hellenistic age possibly thanks to Euripides' play.

The short accounts of the *lēmmata* describe the representations in the reliefs, often with reference to the context of each story (cf. III 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18). Likewise, the eleventh *lēmma* briefly reports the context of Polydectes' petrification, which accords with mythography. There is no allusion to Euripides' treatment of the story. The phrase *κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν τῆς Δίκης* points to the retribution of justice and it may be far-fetched, on the basis of its sense as 'providence', to take it as suggestive of Perseus' return to Seriphos in the nick of time to punish Polydectes and forestall his plans for Danae (which could reflect the play, cf. T4. 11f., T5, T3 and Plot-Structure). It is also noteworthy that Dictys, the central figure of the play, is nowhere mentioned, probably due to the fact that he was presumably not depicted in the relief, so as to raise the lemmatist's comment. A parallel study of the *lēmmata* reflecting Euripidean tragedies indicates that the lemmatist is unlikely to have gone back to the plays, but possibly used mythographic manuals referring to these treatments. This is revealed by the fact that the *lēmmata* are confined

[373] For his popularity in the Hellenistic era, cf. especially Funke (1965-1966) 238-242.

to a rough outline of the plots (cf. III 5, 7, 10), while inaccuracies are not avoided; in III 16, for instance, the lemmatist obviously confused the plot of the *Captive Melanippe* with that of *Melanippe the Wise* [374] (Aeolus is unlikely to have had a role in the former; the heroine seems to have been imprisoned by the villain Siris instead [375]). Hence, the relation of the account of the eleventh *lēmma* to the *Dictys* seems to be remote, as its author is likely to have drawn material from a mythographic source, with no particular reference to the plot of the play.

As to those epigrams taken to reflect Euripidean plots, there is again no evidence pointing to the familiarity of their author with the tragic texts; III 5, 7, 10, 16 reveal knowledge of the outline of each play, as provided by an intermediary source,[376] while III 3 is evidently a fusion of the Homeric and Euripidean treatment of the myth of Phoenix. They are free compositions inspired by themes from Euripides' plays, but not aiming to reproduce their plots; their focus is on the motif of filial devotion. Likewise, the content of the eleventh epigram cannot be taken to reflect the plot of the *Dictys* in specific, rather than the myth in general. Even more, the reference to Danae's rape by Polydectes, which may have resulted from the misinterpretation of a mythographic account (cf. note *ad loc.*), is a deviation from the available evidence for the play. The relation of the epigram to the *Dictys* cannot thus be substantiated.

3 διὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ γάμον: 'marriage', but also 'unlawful wedlock' (*LSJ* [9]); for the latter meaning, cf. *Andr.* 103, *Tr.* 932, *Hel.* 190, X. *Cyr.* 8. 4.19, Luc. *VH* 1. 22. Cf. Strabo (10. 5.10) referring to Polydectes' planned marriage to Danae: τοῦτο δὲ πρᾶξαι τιμωροῦντα τῇ μητρί, ὅτι αὐτὴν Πολυδέκτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄκουσαν ἄγεσθαι προείλετο πρὸς γάμον. There is no evidence as to whether Polydectes was forcing Danae to become his wife or concubine in the *Dictys*.

7 ἔτλης καὶ σὺ λέχη Δανάης, Πολύδεκτα, μιαίνειν: the reference to Danae's rape by Polydectes is a deviation from mythography and the evidence for the *Dictys*; such an event is only mentioned in Pindar (*P.* 12. 14f.), who, nonetheless, does not seem to have served as source of any of the other Cyzicene epigrams. The epigrammatist is perhaps likelier to have consulted a mythographic manual, misinterpreting as 'rape' a possible phrase, such as *βιαζομένης* (cf. T4. 5) or *Πολυδέκτου βίαν* (cf. T5. 2), which evidently refer to the king's pressure on Danae.

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[374] Cf. van Looy (1964) 196.

[375] Cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 243.

[376] So Meyer (1911) 73, Harder (1985) 55. On the other hand, Calderini (1913) 349, 371f. defended the possibility that the author had direct knowledge of the plays.

Fr. 1:

This line is quoted unascribed by Philodemus in his review of the positions probably of the 'kritikos' Heracleodorus, one of his literary adversaries, who cited this verse as a euphonic example because of the word-order (*σύνθεσις*), while rejecting content as a determinant of aesthetic value.[377] According to Philodemus, on the other hand, the elegant *σύνθεσις* of this line fails to correspond to an equally high meaning and cannot as such offer *ψυχαγωγία*.[378]

This iambic trimeter referring to Seriphos obviously derives from a dramatic treatment of Danae's legend; apart from the *Dictys*, this island is known to have been the setting of Aeschylus' *Dictyulci* (cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy) and the *Seriphioi* of Cratinus (cf. 1c. The Legend in Attic Comedy).[379] The rhythm of the verse (Porson's Law and lack of resolutions) suits tragedy, though consistent with comedy as well. Nevertheless, a line chosen as producing an elegant phonetic effect could hardly be assigned to a comedy or a satyr play.[380] Moreover, references to comedy and satyr play are very rare in the surviving papyri of the *On Poems*.[381] Furthermore, Euripides is the most quoted of all dramatists in this work; references to his language and dramatic technique are constantly made by Heracleodorus and other 'kritikoi' of the Hellenistic age and

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[377] For the predominance of form over meaning in the works of the 'kritikoi', cf. Schenkeveld (1968) 176 -214, Gomoll (1936) 373-384, Sbordone (1957) 173-180, Rispoli (1986) 134ff. and Sbordone (1977) 262ff. For Philodemus' views on the interrelation of form and content, cf. Porter (1995) 130-132, Greenberg (1990) 273ff., Janko (2000) 8-10 and Nardelli (1981) 163-171.

[378] Cf. Gomperz's interpretation (1993, 227) in Dorandi (ed.), followed by Sbordone (1976) xxxviii and Nardelli (1982) 475f.

[379] The *Polydectes* of Aeschylus is also assumed to have taken place in Seriphos, but its complete absence of quotations may suggest that it was not extant in the Hellenistic era; cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy.

[380] So Körte (1932) 367f. and (1933) 275, n. 1.

[381] There are only a few general references to comedy in the surviving evidence for the *On Poems* (in *P. Herc.* 1081, fr. 35/ fr. 192 Janko, *P. Herc.* 1081a, fr. 22/ fr. 205 J. and *P.Herc.* 1081, 11N/ Tr. C, fr. h Sbordone) and, most importantly, there are no quotations from comic plays. In addition, *P. Herc.* 460, fr. 15/ fr. 100 J. (cf. Janko, n. 7 *ad loc.*), *P. Herc.* 1074a, fr. 23/ fr. 209 J. (cf. Janko, n. 3 *ad loc.*) and *P. Herc.* 1081a, fr. 25/ fr. 210 J. contain quotations that are only assumed to have derived from satyr-plays and which, moreover, are not presented as examples of euphony like our fragment.

judged by Philodemus.[382] It is also worth bearing in mind that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philodemus' younger contemporary, regarded Euripides as the most skilled of the tragic poets at producing what Dionysius called *γλαφυρὰ σύνθεσις* (*Comp.* 23. 46f.), namely a composition of words characterized by euphony and harmony.[383] Taking all these factors into consideration, this line can plausibly be assigned to the *Dictys*.

This verse revealing the place of action is suitable as part of the beginning of the narrative prologue of the play, in accordance with Euripides' practice.[384] References to locale in the first line of the prologue occur in the *Alcestis*, *Suppliants*, *Electra*, *Helen*, *Bacchae*, *Telephus* fr. 696. 1 Kn., *Oeneus* fr. 558. 1f. Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 515. 1 Kn. and *Auge* fr. 264a Kn., also in S. *Ph.* 1. The setting of the play is mentioned in the expository prologue also in *Med.* 10, *Hipp.* 12, *Andr.* 16, *Hec.* 8, *HF* 4, *Tr.* 4, *Ion* 5, *Cyc.* 20.[385] Definitions of locale are often followed by a relative clause, as in *Alc.* 1, *Andr.* 16f., *Supp.* 1f., *HF* 4, *Ion* 5, *El.* 1f., *Hel.* 1f., *Oeneus* fr. 558. 1f. Kn. and *Telephus* fr. 696. 1f. Kn.[386] Likewise, our fragment may have been followed by a phrase such as *ἥδ' ἐστὶ γαῖα*[387] or something similar defining Seriphos as the place of action and then perhaps by a relative clause referring to past events (cf. *Alc.* 1f., *El.* 1f., *Oeneus* fr. 558. 1f. Kn.) or to particular features of this land (as in *Andr.* 16f., *Supp.* 1f., *HF* 4, *Ion* 5, *Hel.* 1f., *Telephus* fr. 696. 1f. Kn.).

The prologue-speaker could have been either Dictys or Danae, since they would be the most suitable characters to narrate the *προπεπραγμένα* (the finding of the chest by Dictys and the protection that he offered to Danae and Perseus) and describe the present situation (the impossible mission assigned to Perseus by Polydectes, the former's long absence and the king's pressure on Danae, which has driven her and Dictys to seek refuge at Poseidon's altar, cf. Plot-Structure). For Euripidean narrative prologues spoken by suppliants upon a 'cancelled entry', cf. the *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Heracles* and *Helen* (cf. Setting). If fr. 11 (presenting Danae as if she has been roused from sleep, cf. introductory note *ad loc.*) is located towards the beginning of the play rather than later,

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[382] The references to Euripides and the quotations from his drama in the *On Poems* have been gathered and assessed by Nardelli (1982) 471-492. Cf. also Janko (2000) 164, 188, Dürr (1990) 41f., De Falco (1922) 289, n. 1.

[383] For the features of *γλαφυρὰ σύνθεσις*, cf. *Comp.* 23.

[384] So Körte (1932) 367f., Webster (1967) 62f., Jouan and van Looy (2000) 80.

[385] Cf. Barrett's note on *Hipp.* 12 and Collard, Cropp and Lee (1995) 42. For the definition of locale upon tragic openings, cf. Kuntz (1993) 18-23.

[386] Cf. Xanthakis-Karamanos (1997) 125.

[387] Cf. Körte (1932) 367, Webster (1967) 63.

in the crisis, which would seem implausible, Dictys may be a likelier prologue-speaker than Danae. In this case, Dictys, as Electra in the *Orestes*, might have delivered the prologue-speech, while Danae is asleep. In terms of opening, cf. the prologue of the *Heracles* with a male and female suppliant 'discovered' on stage upon a 'cancelled entry' (the difference being that in the opening tableau of that play we have Heracles' children as well), of whom the male delivers the narrative prologue.

Stylistically speaking, the *γλαφυρὰ σύνθεσις* of this line consists in its harmony and euphonic effect; there is a wide use of ρ, the noblest of semi-vowels according to Dionysius, while λ creates the most pleasant effect (cf. *Comp.* 14. 101-104 and for λ, cf. also Pl. *Cra.* 427B, 434C, Dem. *De eloc.* 174). Moreover, the correspondence of vowels at the beginning and end of the line due to the enjambment (ε, ι, ο: Σέριφος : ε, ι, υ, ο: περίῤῥυτος) adds balance and harmony to the verse.[388]

περίῤῥυτος: here, as in most cases, it occurs as passive: 'sea-girt, surrounded with water', a common epithet for islands; cf. *Od.* 19. 173, Hes. *Th.* 193, 290, A. fr. inc. 450o 53.8 R., S. *Ph.* 1 (and Webster 1970, *ad loc.*), 239, Th. 4. 64.3, Lyc. 220. Cf. also the notes of Bubel (1991) and Klimek-Winter (1993) on *Andromeda* fr. 125 Kn. In *Ph.* 209 it occurs as active ('flowing round', cf. Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*). It is found as *περιῤῥύτη* in Alcman fr. 55. i Davies, *PMG* fr. adesp. 47. 1.4, A. *Eum.* 77. Cf. Nonnus' similar description of Seriphos in *D.* 47. 553: πολυκλύστοιο Σερίφου.

Fr. 2:

This fragment is not explicitly ascribed to Euripides' *Dictys*, as its source ([Plut.] *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 106A) tends to leave several of the quoted passages unascribed (cf. 102B, 102C, 102F, 103B, 103C, 104A, 105F, 106D, 108E, 110E, 110F, 115A, 116C, 117A). Nevertheless, it seems very unlikely that this quotation could have derived from any play other than the *Dictys*, considering that Aeschylus' *Polydectes* (which is only assumed to have dealt with the events at Seriphos) survives only as a title in the Catalogue of Aeschylus' plays (*TrGF* III T 78.15b), has never been quoted and was thus possibly lost before the Alexandrian era (cf. 1b. The Legend in Attic Tragedy). Moreover, the commentary below proves

[388] Cf. Nardelli (1982) 475, n. 15 and Gomperz in Dorandi [ed.] (1993) 227, n. 1.

that the language, style and themes of this passage are strikingly Euripidean.

These lines contain Dictys' consolation to Danae, who is lamenting for Perseus, as the latter is believed to have died in his pursuit of the Gorgon. This thought may have arisen from Perseus' long absence, in combination with the impossible deed that he has been sent to accomplish. Likewise, Bellerophon is thought of as killed in his struggle against the Chimaera (cf. Stheneboea 'toasting' Bellerophon, believing that he is dead, in *Sthen.* fr. 664 Kn. and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*). Moreover, Perseus is young and untested and his mother's grief for his fate may resemble Penelope's lament on hearing of the plot organized by the suitors against Telemachus in *Od.* 4. 703-741. Nevertheless, considering that Perseus' death is here regarded as certain (cf. l. 1f.), it might be assumed that Polydectes had spread a false rumour of his death —as Lycus in *HF* 145f.— in order to frustrate Danae and force her to give in.[389] In this case, the consolation-scene might have followed a confrontation between Polydectes and the suppliants, in which the former could have tried to make them give up hope for the possibility of Perseus' return and thus force Danae to succumb to his intentions (cf. *HF* 140-146). Considering the violent pressure, to which Danae and Dictys are likely to have been subjected (cf. T5. 2f., T4. 5f., 11f.), the latter's consolation to the suffering mother might have been part of a wider suppliant-suppliant discourse on how to act under these circumstances and bear their misfortune (cf. Plot-Structure); cf. Amphitryon and Megara in *HF* 60-106, 275-347.[390] Unlike Amphitryon, however, Dictys is here prepared to accept the worst.

Consolation-scenes occur repeatedly in Euripidean drama. An elaborate consolatory speech is that of Amphiaraus to Eurydice after the loss of her baby son in *Hyps.* fr. 60. 89-96 Bond (cf. his note *ad loc.* and Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 248): ἃ δ' αὖ παραινῶ, τ[αὐτά μοι δέξαι, γύναι./ ἔφυ μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅ[στις οὐ πονεῖ βροτῶν/ θάπτει τε τέκ[να χἄτερα κτᾶται νέα/ αὐτός τε θνήσκε[ι· καὶ τάδ' ἄχθονται βροτοὶ/ εἰς γῆν φέροντες [γῆν. ἀναγκαίως δ' ἔχει/ βίον θερίζειν ὥ[στε κάρπιμον στάχυν,/ καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶ[ναι, τὸν δὲ μή· τί ταῦτα δεῖ/ στένειν ἄπε[ρ δεῖ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπερᾶν; Cf. similarly the *παραίνεσις* in *Ino* fr. 415 Kn. (for the context, cf. Jouan and van Looy 2000, 194): ἄνασσα, πολλοῖς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων κακά,/ τοῖς δ' ἄρτι λήγει, τοῖς δὲ

[389] So Matthiae (1829) 153f., followed by Welcker (1839) 668, Wecklein (1888) 109 and Jouan and van Looy (2000) 81.

[390] For the suppliant-suppliant discourse in the *Heracles*, cf. Maio (1977) 22f., 26f. and Heath (1987) 161.

κίνδυνος μολεῖν./ κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς καρπίμοις τε γῆς φυτοῖς/ θνητῶν τε γενεᾶ· τῶν μὲν αὔξεται βίος,/ τῶν δὲ φθίνει τε καὶ θερίζεται πάλιν. *Mel. D.* fr. 507 Kn. seems to have derived from a consolation addressed to Melanippe, who, as Danae, is grieving for her supposedly dead sons (cf. the notes of van Looy 1964 and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): τί τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾷς τεθνηκέναι/ καὶ τἀκχυθέντα συλλέγεις ἀλγήματα; Further instances of consolation occur in *Alc.* 416-418, 1077f., *Heracl.* 608-28 (cf. Wilkins 1993, 129 and Allan 2001, 175f.), *Andr.* 1270-2, *Hel.* 253f., *Antigone* fr. 174 Kn., fr. inc. 962 Kn.

The cases of consolatory speeches in Euripides were obviously not independent from the intellectual context of his era, as consolation first appears in the course of the fifth century BC and was further developed as a genre later, under the influence of the Academic Crantor, the Cynics and especially the Stoics;[391] the orator Antiphon of Rhamnus is known to have developed a *τέχνη ἀλυπίας* directed towards the relief of distress (cf. [Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* 833C) and to have organized *νηπενθεῖς ἀκροάσεις* with the purpose of consoling the mourners (cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1. 15.2).[392] Fr. inc. 964 Kn., in which one of Euripides' characters claims that he has learnt from a wise man to handle disasters such as unseasonable deaths in advance, so that he will be prepared to come to terms with them when they do occur, may reflect Antiphon's practice.[393] According to Gorgias, *λόγος* ('speech') had the power to heal sorrow (*Hel.* 8/ fr. 11. 8 D.-K:. (λόγος) δύναται γὰρ καὶ φόβον παῦσαι καὶ λύπην ἀφελεῖν).[394] In addition, the sophist Prodicus, one of Euripides' teachers according to one strand of the tradition at least,[395] is attested to have given *laudationes mortis* ([Pl.] *Axioch.* 366C), which was a commonplace in consolatory speeches (for *laudationes mortis* in tragedy, cf. *Heracl.* 592-6, *Philoctetes* fr. 791 Kn., *Cresph.* fr. 449 Kn., *Phrixus* fr. 833 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 176 Kn., fr. inc. 908

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[391] Cf. Kassel (1958) 12-29, 32-39, Johann (1968) *passim*, Hani (1972) 11-14, 43-49, 50-62, Ochs (1993) 111-115. For the fragments of Crantor, see Mette (1984) 8-40.

[392] Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III 290, Rankin (1983) 66, Cole (1991) 100, Nestle (1921) 92, Ochs (1993) 62f.

[393] ἐγὼ δὲ <ταῦτα> παρὰ σοφοῦ τινος μαθὼν/ εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφορᾶς τ' ἐβαλλόμην,/ φυγάς τ' ἐμαυτῷ προστιθεὶς πάτρας ἐμῆς/ θανάτους τ' ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἄλλας ὁδούς,/ ἵν' εἴ τι πάσχοιμ' ὧν ἐδόξαζον φρενί,/ μή μοι νεῶρες προσπεσὸν μᾶλλον δάκοι. Cf. Kerferd (1981) 51.

[394] Cf. Segal (1962) 105-7, 115f., 120-2. Cf. also Arist. *EN* 1172B 2f.: παραμυθητικὸν γὰρ ὁ φίλος καὶ τῇ ὄψει καὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ἐὰν ᾖ ἐπιδέξιος.

[395] Cf. *Vita Eur.* in *TrGF* V,1 Test. A1, IA 7, Aul. Gell. 15. 20. 4.

Kn. and the famous passage from S. *OC.* 1224ff.).[396] Since consolation relies on *λόγος* as 'reasoning', as well as 'speech', Dictys' argumentation is expressed in rhetorical figures, such as the adynaton (l. 1f., cf. Manzo 1988, *passim*), the example (ll. 5-8, cf. Lausberg 1998, 196ff.), the anaphora (ll. 5-8: ὅσοι τε ... ὅσοι τε... τοὺς τ'..., cf. Lausberg 1998, 281-283) and the *tricolon* crescendo (ll. 5-8).

Dictys' *rhēsis* contains certain elements of consolations which were formulated later, under the influence of Crantor and the Stoicism: (a) the futility of lament (l. 1f., as in Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 62, Sen. *Ep.* 99. 6, Sen. *Consol. Pol.* 2.1–5.5), and (b) examples of other people suffering from misfortunes (ll. 3-8, as in Cic. *Fam.* 4.5-4.6, Sen. *Ep.* 99.6, 99.22, *Consol. Marc.* 2.1- 3.4, 12.4- 16.10, *Consol. Pol.* 14.1- 17.2, Plut. *Tranq. An.* 467E, 470B-E, [Plut.] *Consol. Apoll.* 106B-C), which urge the addressee to consider the calamities of human life and the necessity to bear them (as in Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 34, 52, 59, Sen. *Ep.* 99. 7-9, *Consol. Marc.* 10.1- 11.5, *Consol. Pol.* 1.1- 1.4, 11.1- 11.6).

As regards the possible dramatic function of the consolatory *rhēsis*, the belief that Perseus has died is a tragic irony, which prepares for the *peripeteia* that will take place at the moment of his return. Cf. similarly *HF* 296-298, 459-495 and Stheneboea's above mentioned 'toast' to the supposedly dead Bellerophon in *Sthen.* fr. 664 Kn. No clue survives as to any complications of the plot occurring after this scene; in *HF* 275-347, 451-522, for instance, the acceptance of Heracles' death forces Amphitryon and Megara to accept their own. The elaborately rhetorical speech obviously serves to illustrate Dictys' *dianoia* (cf. Arist. *Poet.* 1450B 5: *τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἁρμόττοντα*); cf. also introductory note on fr. 4 for Dictys' possible participation in the *agōn*.

1-2: Perseus' ascent from Hades is a *reductio ad absurdum* used by Dictys to help Danae to come to terms with his supposed death. An eloquent verbal and thematic parallel occurs in *HF* 296f. (cf. Bond 1981, *ad loc.*): ἦξειν νομίζεις παῖδα σὸν γαίας ὕπο;/ καὶ τίς θανόντων ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἅιδου πάλιν; For the rhetorical method of argumentation with the use of impossible questions, cf. *Andr.* 215-219, *Supp.* 542-8 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *El.* 1041-5 and Lloyd (1992) 31f., also S. *Ai.* 377f., *Tr.* 742f.

2 ἀνῆσειν: *LSJ* [9]: 'to release' and 'to send up from the grave or nether world'; here it is used in both senses. It occurs as a synonym of

[396] Cf. also Sen. *Consol. Marc.* 20.1- 20.6, 22.1- 23.2, *Consol. Pol.* 9.1- 9.9, Plut. *Consol. Uxor.* 611 C-D, [Plut.] *Consol. Apoll.* 115B-F and Kassel (1958) 10.

ἀναπέμπω (schol. rec. A. *Pers.* 652 Dähnhardt and schol. rec. Ar. *Ra.* 1462 Chantry). In the sense of 'sending someone back from the dead' it is found in [E.] *Rh.* 965, A. *Pers.* 649f., *Ch.* 489. In other cases, the verb *ἀνίημι* is used for blessings conferred by Hades, as in Ar. *Ra.* 1462 (and Dover 1993, *ad loc.*), *Tagēnistae* fr. 504 K.-A., Pl. *Cra.* 403E.

εἰ θέλεις στένειν: the reading *θέλεις* of Φ and Π adopted by Paton-Wegehaupt and Kannicht is preferable to *θέλοις* of the rest of the manuscripts, as the indicative expresses the real present condition needed in this context ('if you insist on mourning'), rather than the less vivid one expressed by the optative ('should you choose to mourn'). Likewise, in the verbal and thematic parallel in *Alc.* 1079, the indicative in the condition is better than the optative for the same reason (cf. Dale 1954, *ad loc.*, this reading is also adopted by Diggle): τί δ' ἂν προκόπτοις, εἰ θέλεις (v.l. θέλοις) ἀεὶ στένειν; For the argument often used in consolations that nothing can be accomplished by yielding to lamentation, cf. *Alc.* 985f., *Hec.* 960f., *El.* 193-5 (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*), *Mel. D.* fr. 507 Kn., *Hyps.* fr. 60. 95f. Bond, *Oenomaus* fr. 572 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 175 Kn., also *Il.* 24. 524, S. *El.* 137.

3-8: The examples of other people struck by disasters as a consolation to the suffering person occurs often in Euripides, as in *Alc.* 416-8, *Med.* 1017, *HF* 1314-21 (cf. Bond 1981, *ad loc.*), *Hyps.* fr. 60. 89-96 Bond, *Ino* fr. 418 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 733 Kn., also in S. *El.* 153, *Ant.* 944-87 (cf. Jebb 1900^{3}_{a}, *ad loc.*), Pi. *P.* 3. 86-107 and goes back as early as *Il.* 5. 382-404 (cf. Willcock 1970, 168f.), 18. 117-121 (cf. Edwards 1991, *ad loc.*), 24. 602-620 (cf. Richardson 1993, 340). The examples provided by Dictys are specifically focused, as according to the mythical tradition Danae has been through all situations mentioned: she has been twice imprisoned by her father, reduced from royalty to penury and is now facing the dreadful prospect of a childless old age. Dictys' consolatory speech aims to show her the way to *ἐγκαρτέρησις*, a notion which appears widely in tragedy, as in *Heracl.* 619f., *HF* 1227f., *Tr.* 727, *Hel.* 253f. (cf. Kannicht 1969, *ad loc.*) *Ph.* 382, 1762 (cf. Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*), *Aeolus* fr. 37 Kn., *Alcmene* fr. 98 Kn., *Oenomaus* fr. 572 Kn., *Ino* fr. 418 Kn., *Melanippe* fr. 505 Kn., *Alexandros* frr. 43, 44 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 175. 14-15 Kn., A. *Pers.* 293, [A.] *Pr.* 104, S. *Ion* fr. 319 R., *Tereus* fr. 585 R.

3 παῦσαι: Often used in Euripidean consolations with the purpose of bringing lament to an end; cf. *HF* 1398: παῦσαι· δίδου δὲ χεῖρ' ὑπηρέτηι φίλωι, *IA* 1435: παῦσαι· 'μὲ μὴ κάκιζε· τάδε δέ μοι πιθοῦ, *Andr.* 1270: παῦσαι δὲ λύπης τῶν τεθνηκότων ὕπερ.

4 ῥᾴων γένοι' ἄν: a medical term, 'to get better' (cf. Hp. *Loc. Hom.* 34, *Morb. Pop.* 7. 1.29, *Aff.* 19. 2, [Aeschin.] *Ep.* 1. 5.3, 9. 1.3, Luc. *Lex.* 20. 15, Paus. 8. 24.8). Here, in its metaphorical sense 'to feel better', a possible colloquialism (cf. Stevens 1976, 50); cf. *HF* 1407 (cited in *TrGF* V,1 *ad loc.*): φίλτρον τοῦτ' ἔχων ῥάιων ἔσηι; *Ion* 874f. (and Lee 1997, *ad loc.*): ὃ στέρνων/ ἀπονησαμένη ῥάιων ἔσομαι, Philippides *Philadelphoi* fr. 18 K.-A., Theopompus *Phineus* fr. 63 K.-A., D. xlv 57, D.C. *Hist. Rom.* 38. 30, 42. 28, Ach. Tat. 2. 8.1, 5. 22.8.

λογίζεσθαι: 'to count, to reckon up' and also 'to consider on the basis of logic'; cf. *Andr.* 126, 316, *HF* 295, *Phoenix* fr. 812. 5 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 360. 5 Kn. The infinitive *σκοπεῖν* in l. 8 bears the same meaning. The use of *λογισμός* ('reasoning') was the basis of sophistic thought, as emerges from Gorg. *Helen* 2 (fr. B 11. 2 D.-K., cf. MacDowell 1982, *ad loc.*) and is common in oratory; cf. Antiphon ii 2. 8 (for the function of *λόγος* as rational analysis in Euripides and Antiphon, cf. Solmsen 1931, 54-58), Lys. xxxii 26. 2, D. viii 18. 2, xiii 2. 3, xix 338. 2, Din. i 112. 2.

5 ἐκμεμόχθηνται: *LSJ* [9]: 'to be worn out', used commonly by Euripides in the active voice; cf. *Supp.* 451, *HF* 309, 1369, *El.* 307, *Tr.* 646, 873, *IT* 84. Bentley's *ἐμμεμόχλευνται* (in the sense 'to be forced/ compelled') does not occur anywhere in fifth-century literature except for Ar. *Lys.* 430 in the active voice ('to force the gates open with crow-bars') and is regularly found in medical works (cf. Hp. *Art.* 72. 20, 77. 21, Gal. *De usu partium* Vol. III, p. 655. 15 Kuhn).

6 ὀρφανοὶ τέκνων: The birth of children was essential for the continuity of the *oikos* and, consequently, for the existence of the *polis*, since the *oikos* was basic unit of the latter. The state thus assumed the responsibility to defend its *oikoi,* as emerges from the laws for adoption (Is. ii 13, vii 30, [D.] xliii 77f.) and of the *epiclērate* (Plut. *Sol.* 20. 2-3) established by Solon to ensure their continuity; cf. Harrison (1968) 82-96, 132-138, Todd (1993) 228-231, Lacey (1968) 73-99, Patterson (1998) 97-101, Pomeroy (1997) 25ff., Sissa (1996) 218-227. The idea that a childless *oikos* was condemned to extinction goes back to Homer, who describes the house of Protesilaus as *δόμος ἡμιτελής* (*Il.* 2. 701). For the curse of childlessness, cf. *Med.* 669ff., 714ff., 721f. (and Conacher 1967, 192), *Ion* 303ff., 761ff. and for the terrible prospect of a childless old age, cf. especially Hecabe's lament in *Tr.* 1186 (and Barlow 1986, *ad loc.*): γραῦς ἄπολις ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρόν and *Supp.* 170: γῆρας ἥκει πολιὸν εἰς ἀπαιδίαν. Children are regarded as a blessing in *Andr.* 419f., *HF* 634-6, *IT* 697f., *Ph.* 356, 965f. (cf. Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*),

Alcmene fr. 103 Kn., *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn., *Oeneus* fr. 566 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 518 Kn., *Auge* fr. 272 Kn. For the opposite view, cf. *Alc.* 882ff., *Med.* 1090ff. (cf. Golden 1971, 13f. and Grube 1961, 162), [E.] *Rh.* 980-2, Kassel (1954) 44, 49f. and for an exposition of the merits and drawbacks of bearing children, cf. *Oenomaus* fr. 571 Kn. On parental love for children, cf. frr. 7, 12 and *Danae* frr. 3, 13 (and notes *ad loc.*).

7 ἐκ μέγιστον ὀλβίας τυραννίδος: *μέγιστον* is Elmsley's emendation of the unacceptable *μεγίστης* of the manuscript tradition; it occurs attached to adjectives and is used by Euripides emphatically: *Med.* 1323: ὦ μέγιστον ἐχθίστη γύναι, *Heracl.* 792: μέγιστόν γ' εὐκλεεῖς. For *ὄλβιος* as 'prosperous' mainly in terms of material possessions, cf. notes on *Danae* frr. 9. 3 and 15. 8. The *τυραννίς* ('absolute monarchy', for *τύραννος*, cf. note on fr. 5.) combined with *μέγιστος ὄλβος* (extreme prosperity) often describes Oriental monarchies characterized by excessive power and wealth, where opulence is regarded as a major component of their *ὄλβος*; cf. Croesus in Hdt. 1. 29.2-33.1 and Archil. fr. 19 W. In the field of tragedy, cf. A. *Pers.* 3f. (cf. Hall 1996, *ad loc.*), 163f., 250-52, 754-56 (for Persian opulence, in particular, cf. Gagarin 1976, 44f., Briant 2002, 202-207), *Ag.* 905-74 (and Taplin 1978, 80, Fraenkel 1950, II 412f.) and also *Hec.* 492 (and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*), 925, *HF* 642f., *Tr.* 108f., 582 (and Burnett 1977, 310), 994-97, *Hel.* 68-70 (and Kannicht 1969, *ad loc.*). For this topic, cf. Hall (1989) 154-56, Easterling (1984) 36f., 44f., O'Neil (1986) 27f., 39, Saïd (2002) 65f. Dictys is evidently not referring here to a kingship modeled upon Oriental monarchies, but his use of exaggerated terms presumably aims to draw an emphatic contrast between excessive royal prosperity and reduction to utter insignificance.

8 τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας: 'to come to nothing, to be regarded as worthless or of no account'; for the frequent occurrence of this phrase especially in Euripides and Sophocles, cf. *Andr.* 700, *Hec.* 622 (and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*), *HF* 634f., *El.* 370, *Tr.* 612f., note on *Danae* fr. 9. 3, S. *Ai.* 767f., 1094, *El.* 1166 and Moorhouse (1965) 34-40. The utter ruin of kings and the fragility of fortune, in general, is a pathetic commonplace; cf. the use of the *oikeion paradeigma* in *Hec.* 284f.: κἀγὼ γὰρ ἦ ποτ' ἀλλὰ νῦν οὐκ εἴμ' ἔτι,/ τὸν πάντα δ' ὄλβον ἦμαρ ἕν μ' ἀφείλετο (cf. Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*, Johansen 1959, 54-56 and Segal 1993, 160f.), also 809-811, *Hipp.* 1108-1110, *HF* 508-12, *Tr.* 612f., *Bell.* fr. 304 Kn., *Peleus* fr. 618 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 536 Kn., *Oedipus* frr. 549, 554 Kn. and note on *Danae* fr. 15. 6-9.

Fr. 3:

The *γεραιός* of the fragment is obviously Dictys, as depicted in T3 (cf. also fr. 11) and these lines explicitly refer to the conflict between Dictys and king Polydectes. Webster suggested that this distich could have been uttered by Danae in her effort to protect Dictys by dissuading him from arguing with Polydectes and drew the parallel with *HF* 277f., where Megara tries to protect the old men of the chorus from Lycus' rage.[397] However, there is nothing in Megara's tone that would denote submission to the ruler, as in our fragment; the clearly submissive tone of the second line —as evident from the use of *σέβειν* (cf. note *ad loc.*)— seems to be hardly compatible with Danae's attitude of resistance to Polydectes. The conventional content of this distich makes it likelier to have been spoken by the chorus-leader,[398] who does not hesitate to take sides, when the attitude of the dramatic characters clashes with public opinion; cf. *Alc.* 673f., 706f., *Heracl.* 271 (cf. Wilkins 1993 and Allan 2001, *ad loc.*), 273, *El.* 1051-4 (cf. Cropp 1988 and Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*). In the cited examples, the conciliatory interventions of the chorus-leader occur in the context of formal debates. Likewise, this fragment may have been located in an *agōn*-scene between Polydectes and Dictys. Traces of the *agōn* seem to have survived in fr. 4 and possibly fr. 5 (cf. their introductory notes).

Dictys must have belonged to the group of elderly Euripidean characters, whose weak physical condition lags behind their moral assertiveness (as Peleus in *Andr.* 547ff., Amphitryon in *HF* 170ff. and Tyndareus in *Or.* 477ff.) or their unexpected recovery of strength (as the 'rejuvenation' of Iolaus in *Heracl.* 680ff., the determined vindictiveness of Alcmene in *Heracl.* 941ff., Hecabe in *Hec.* 864ff. and the enunciation of bold plans by the chorus of old men in *HF* 252-274).[399] The presentation of elderly people in Euripidean drama serves to arouse pathetic scenes, offers a realistic reflection of life and, furthermore, is indicative of the dramatist's interest in vulnerable social groups, such as old people, women

[397] Cf. Webster (1967) 63, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 81.

[398] So Hartung (1843-1844) I 368, followed by Kannicht (*TrGF* V,1 *ad loc.*).

[399] For the role of old people in Euripides, cf. Falkner (1985) 41-49 and Collard (1981) 10. More specifically, for Peleus: cf. Blaiklock (1952) 78 and Lloyd (1994) 135 and for Tyndareus: Will (1961) 98f., Blaiklock (1952) 184-186 and West (1987) 35. For Iolaus: cf. Blaiklock (1952) 62f., Wilkins (1993) 137f. and Garland (1990) 267f. For Alcmene: cf. Falkner (1989) 114-124 and Allan (2001) 28f. For Hecabe: cf. Mossman (1995) 180-203 and on the outburst of the chorus of old men in the *Heracles*, cf. Bond (1981) 128f.

and slaves;[400] it is noteworthy that in our play, as in the *Heraclidae* and the *Heracles*, two representatives of these vulnerable groups, namely an old man and a woman, are facing male political power. On the basis of the surviving evidence for the play, Dictys must have displayed moral righteousness and strength of spirit (as Danae's protector, cf. also fr. 13 stressing the just cause of the suppliants, T3, T5 and *Dramatis Personae*), as well as intellectual capacities (mature judgement [401] and rhetorical ability, cf. fr. 2 and for his possible participation in the *agōn*, cf. introductory note on fr. 4). So far as our evidence goes, I would draw a parallel between the dramatic figure of Dictys and the portraits of Peleus in the *Andromache* and of Amphitryon in the *Heracles*. Like Peleus, Dictys seems to be a dynamic old man who does not hesitate to come into conflict with kings, in order to defend justice. Dictys is also in a similar position to that of Amphitryon, as they are both suppliants who, albeit their disadvantaged status, strongly resist tyrannical power. The fact that the play is named after Dictys implies that he must have been at the centre of dramatic interest; considering that it was produced earlier than the above mentioned plays, it is tempting to suppose that the dramatic character of Dictys may have served as a model for the morally and intellectually gifted elderly figures of Euripides.

1 κοιράνοις: Salmasius' apt emendation of the unmetrical reading *τυράννοις* of the manuscript tradition, which replaced the poetic *κοιράνοις*. This banalization is quite common; cf. *Med.* 1299 (κοιράνους B O D E L P : τυράννους H A V), *Ph.* 1643 (κοίρανον M V^{28} : τύραννον H V^{2}) and the examples cited in *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.* This is the case of a generalizing 'poetic' plural; cf. Bers (1984) 24-27 and note on *Danae* fr. 14. 1.

2: For the notion of respect towards the power of the rulers, cf. Sol. fr. 30 W. (and Noussia 2001, 375): ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κἄδικα, *Cent.* II 100. 3: κρεισσόνων γὰρ καὶ δίκαια κἄδικ' ἐστ' ἀκούειν. As regards tragedy, this conventional idea is repeatedly expressed by submissive characters in Sophocles, as in *El.* 219f. (uttered by the chorus, cf. Jebb 1894 and March 2001, *ad loc.*): τὰ δὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς/ οὐκ ἐριστὰ πλάθειν, 340, 396, 1014 (by Chrysothemis), *Ant.* 63f. (by Ismene) and also in A. *Ch.* 75-80 (where the submissive statement is again uttered by the chorus). In Euripides this idea occurs in *Heracl.* 25: τοὺς κρείσσονας σέβοντες ἐξείργουσι γῆς, *Hec.* 404, *Peliades* fr. 604

[400] Cf. Falkner (1985) 47f. and (1995) 169-179.

[401] For the prudence, maturity and wisdom that characterize elderly people, cf. Kirk (1971) 125-129, Garland (1990) 273 and Richardson (1933) 16ff.

Kn. Cf. also *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 436 Kn.-Sn. and the ironic statements undermining the power of rulers in [A.] *Pr.* 937 (cf. Griffith 1983, *ad loc.*): σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀεί, S. *Ai.* 666-8 (cf. Stanford 1963, *ad loc.*): τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμεσθα μὲν θεοῖς/ εἴκειν, μαθησόμεσθα δ' Ἀτρείδας σέβειν./ ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον. τί μήν; S. *El.* 1465 (cf. March 2001, *ad loc.*).

σέβειν: *LSJ* [9]: 'to worship, to honour', mostly referring to gods, less often and more freely used for kings (*Heracl.* 25, while in *Hel.* 726 it denotes the obedience of the slave to his master) and parents (fr. inc. 852 Kn., S. *OC* 1377), also signifying reverence in the practice of laws and customs (*IT* 1189, *Hel.* 1270). It is a strong word denoting activities 'within a sphere, which man approaches with awe' (see Fraenkel 1950, II 762). When *σέβειν* refers to men, it may sometimes be uttered *cum invidia* (cf. Kamerbeek's note on S. *Ai.* 667), as in A. *Ag.* 925: λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ, *Niobe* fr. 159 R.: γίγνωσκε τἀνθρώπεια μὴ σέβειν ἄγαν. The ancient scholiast on S. *Ai.* 666-8 points out the bitterness and irony in Aias' words, who reverses the traditional order θεοὺς σέβειν, εἴκειν Ἀτρείδαις to θεοῖς εἴκειν, Ατρείδας σέβειν (cf. Garvie 1998, 189). The meaning of *σέβειν* in our fragment seems to be similar to that in *Heracl.* 25: τοὺς κρείσσονας σέβοντες, where it denotes 'to respect the power of a superior' (cf. Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), including the notion of awe towards the supreme authority of the ruler. If the fragment is spoken by the chorus-leader, it may point to a frightened chorus trying to put an end to the argument, by encouraging Dictys to yield to Polydectes at a crucial point of the conflict between the suppliants and the king. For choral intervention with the use of strong language at a climactic moment of the conflict, cf. especially *Alc.* 707: παῦσαι δέ, πρέσβυ, παῖδα σὸν κακορροθῶν, *Heracl.* 271: μὴ πρὸς θεῶν κήρυκα τολμήσῃς θενεῖν, 273: ἄπελθε· καὶ σὺ τοῦδε μὴ θίγῃς, ἄναξ.

Fr. 4:

This fragment has the form of the rhetorical proem from an *agōn*,[402] as indicated by the term *ἄμιλλα λόγων*, which is applied by Euripides to describe formal debates (cf. note *ad loc.*). The participle *κλύοντα* in l. 5 indicates that the speaker is male. Nevertheless, the very nature of

[402] Cf. Webster (1967) 63, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82 and *TrGF* V,1 384.

fragmentary material cited in gnomic anthologies (cf. General Introduction, p. xix), as well as Euripidean rhetoric, make it hard to discern whether the speaker is sympathetic (Dictys or Perseus) or malicious (Polydectes). Two different readings of the present fragment are possible: (1) if the lines are spoken by Dictys or Perseus:[403] the speaker disapproves of those people, who albeit righteous, behave unjustly by participating in idle debates. He then underlines, however, that it is unendurable to keep silent when being abused by a villain. (2) If the fragment is assigned to Polydectes:[404] he resents nobles who descend to the level of people of lower social status by participating in vain debates with them. Nevertheless, he stresses that it is intolerable to be quiet when being offended by a socially inferior.

It is clear that the key-words for each interpretation are *ἐσθλός* – *κακός* (l. 2) and *κακίονες* (l. 5), which may commend either competitive or co-operative excellences (cf. below, note *ad loc.*). Although both readings seem possible, Polydectes might be a likelier speaker in view of the use of *κακιόνων*, which regularly refers to traditional values (i.e. birth, status and the question of virtue in war), when used by Euripides in place of a substantive; cf. *Heracl.* 178 ('weaker', thus of lower status): τοὺς ἀμείνονας παρὸν/ φίλους ἑλέσθαι τοὺς κακίονας λαβεῖν, *Andr.* 914 (and Stevens 1971, *ad loc.*): γέρων γε Πηλεύς τοὺς κακίονας σέβων, *Hec.* 1252f.: οἴμοι, γυναικός, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡσσώμενος/ δούλης ὑφέξω τοῖς κακίοσιν δίκην, *Hel.* 1213 (with reference to Menelaus' servant): ἐσθλῶν κακίους ἐνίοτ' εὐτυχέστεροι, fr. inc. 1048 Kn. Prof. Kannicht favours Polydectes as speaker of these lines, drawing a thematic parallel to fr. inc. 1050 Kn.,[405] which was assumed by Hartung to belong to our play in view of its similarity to the present fragment:[406] ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπει τύραννον, ὡς ἐγὼ φρονῶ,/ οὐδ' ἄνδρα χρηστὸν νεῖκος αἴρεσθαι κακοῖς·/ τιμὴ γὰρ αὕτη τοῖσιν ἀσθενεστέροις. Cf. also the parallel syntax and the notion of refusing to yield to socially inferiors in *Ion* 636f. (and Lee 1997 *ad loc.*, Gregory 1995, 144f.): κεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνασχετόν,/ εἴκειν ὁδοῦ χαλῶντα τοῖς κακίοσιν.

Hence, if Polydectes is the speaker, he declares that, though it is beneath his dignity to argue with a person of lower social status, he is forced to respond to what he sees as unacceptable *parrhēsia*. Dictys would

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[403] Jouan and van Looy (2000, 82) and Hartung (1843-1844, I 170) assigned the fragment to Perseus, while Webster (1967, 63) attributed it to Dictys.
[404] Cf. *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*, Stoessl (1958) 162.
[405] *TrGF* V,1 384.
[406] Cf. Hartung (1843-1844) I 371.

have made an excellent opponent to Polydectes in a rhetorical contest, in view of his intellectual capacities and moral assertiveness (cf. frr. 2 and 3 respectively), and he could have very well been the *κακίων* (l. 5, 'socially inferior'), to whom Polydectes here refers, in view of his occupation as fisherman. Besides, the conflict between Dictys and Polydectes attested in fr. 3 may have well belonged to the context of a formal debate (cf. introductory note on fr. 3). Furthermore, given Dictys' central role in the play (cf. *Dramatis Personae*), his participation in an *agōn* would serve to further illustrate his *dianoia*. In this light, Dictys' rhetorical capacity may be paralleled to the skilful rhetoric of other elderly Euripidean figures participating in formal debates, such as Iolaus (*Heracl.*181-231), Peleus (*Andr.* 590-641, 693-726), Amphitryon (*HF* 170-235), Jocasta (*Ph.* 528-585, cf. Falkner 1995, 202-205) and Tyndareus (*Or.* 491-541, 607-629).

If this *agōn* occurred between Polydectes and Dictys, it would reasonably have taken place before Perseus' return, while Danae and Dictys are suppliants. It would have thus been part of the supplication-scene ('suppliant-enemy' confrontation), serving to intensify the power gap and dramatic tension, which is a practice followed by Euripides in *Heracl.* 134-287, *Andr.* 147-273, *HF* 140-251.[407] In such cases, the enemy is plaintiff and speaks first, while the suppliant is defendant and thus speaks second.[408] Hence, in order to have Polydectes as the first speaker, it could be assumed that an introductory dialogue may have preceded the set-speeches, as in *Med.* 446-464, *Hipp.* 902-935, *Supp.* 399-408, *Tr.* 895-913, *El.* 998-1010, *Ph.* 446-468, *Or.* 470-490, *IA* 317-333, where Dictys may have criticized the king's attitude, thus raising the latter's indignation (l. 4f.). Though the clear benefits from Dictys' participation in the debate have been pointed out, the lack of evidence for the details of the plot leaves other possibilities open to discussion as well. An on-stage encounter between Polydectes and Perseus, where the hero may have trapped the king into looking at the Gorgon's head, cannot be ruled out, though it is ultimately unprovable (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 136f.). Even in such a case, an *agōn* between them would presuppose conflict, which may not have served Perseus' purpose of trapping the king as effectively as, for instance, a mock reconciliation, as in *Med.* 869-975, *Hec.* 976-1022, *Cresphontes* (Hyg. *fab.* 184 and Harder 1985, 53).

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[407] For the interrelation between the altar-scene and the *agōn* in these plays, cf. Strohm (1957) 17-28 and Froleyks (1973) 326f.

[408] In most Euripidean debates, with the exception of *El.* 998-1131 and *Tr.* 895-1059 (for which, cf. Lloyd 1992, 101), the plaintiff naturally speaks first and the defendant second.

The typology of the rhetorical contests in Euripidean drama is strongly influenced by sophistic rhetoric (particularly by the *dissoi logoi*) and law-court procedure (the opposition between plaintiff and defendant).[409] Our speaker is rhetorically self-conscious, as emerges from his use of agonistic terminology, such as *ἄμιλλα λόγων*, and of a common type of rhetorical aporia:[410] there are reasons why one should refrain from speaking, nevertheless, the magnitude of the issue forces one to speak. The typical appeal to *ἀνάγκη* in oratory is discernible here; cf. *Hipp.* 986-991, *Andr.* 186-191, *Or.* 544-550, Antiphon i 2, iii 2.1, Lys. viii 2, xvii 1, xix 1, xxxii 1 (and Carey 1989, *ad loc.*), D.H. *Lys.* 24.

1 πολλοῖς παρέστην: the speaker stresses his experience in public discourse; cf. *Phoenix* fr. 812 Kn.: ἥδη δὲ πολλῶν ἠρέθην λόγων κριτὴς. *Πολύς* occurs frequently in the openings of speeches, mainly serving to initiate an antithesis between what happens in general and the present situation, the particularity of which is stressed; cf. *Alc.* 747-50, also A. *Pers.* 176, *Ag.* 1372f., S. *Tr.* 49-51 (and Kamerbeek 1959 and Davies 1991$_a$, *ad loc.*), 153f., *Ph.* 1047f., *OC* 551-53, Ar. *Th.* 830f., *Av.* 860f., Th. 1. 80.1f., 2. 35.1, 3. 37.1, Lys. iii 1, D. xxiii 82, Men. *Per.* 532-36 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, *ad loc.*) and Fraenkel's discussion of the subject (1960, 1-5). *LSJ* [9]: παρίσταμαι + Dat. 'to stand by, to be present at'; it is used in the same sense in *Ion* 612: ὅταν παραστῶ σοι and S. *Tr.* 748: ποῦ δ' ἐμπελάζεις τἀνδρὶ καὶ παρίστασαι;

κἀφθόνησα: it usually signifies 'to envy, to resent, to refuse sth. to s.o. from feelings of ill-will, to feel righteous indignation at someone's undeserved prosperity' (*LSJ* [9]); the latter sense corresponds to the notion of *δίκαιος φθόνος* mentioned by Hippias (fr. 16 D.-K.) and to Aristotle's *νέμεσις* as distinguished from *φθόνος* (*EN* 1108B 3-5, *EE* 1233B 19-26), in that the former evokes the feeling of justice (cf. Stevens 1948, 181-183, Milobenski 1964, 63, 85f., Mills 1985, 3-12, Ben Ze'ev 2003, 105-112). Here, the verb occurs in the less usual sense of 'to blame, to censure, to begrudge' bearing the notion of strong disapproval; cf. schol. vet. *Hec.* 288 (Schwartz): σημειωτέον δὲ ὅτι τὸν φθόνον νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ μώμου τίθησιν (citing *Theseus* fr. 387 Kn.: καίτοι φθόνου μὲν μῦθον ἄξιον φράσω) ἀντὶ τοῦ μέμψις, schol. vet. *Od.* 1. 346 (Dindorf): λαμβάνεται ἐπὶ τοῦ κωλύειν καὶ μέμφεσθαι, *Hec.* 288f.: ἀποκτείνειν φθόνος/ γυναῖκας, *El.* 30: παίδων δ' ἔδεισε μὴ φθονηθείη φόνωι, 902: νεκροὺς ὑβρίζειν, μή μέ τις φθόνωι βάλῃι. If these lines were utterred by Polydectes, he

[409] Cf. Lloyd (1992) 13-18, 23f., Collard (1975$_b$) 63, Guthrie (1962-1981) III 50f., 127-129, Kerferd (1981) 83ff., Gomperz (1912) 35ff., Garner (1987) 102, Froleyks (1973) 264-274.
[410] Cf. Lausberg (1998) 343f.

would be blaming the nobles for descending to the level of social inferiors, thus jeopardizing their own status. The notion of status is associated with the feeling of *φθόνος*, which is often evoked by an inferior's encroachment on one's own high status. Cf. *Telephus* fr. 703 Kn. (and Preiser 2000, *ad loc.*): μή μοι φθονήσητ', ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκρου/ εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν. This type of resentment is closely related to the notion of divine *φθόνος* (for which, cf. Walcot 1978, 22-37, 41-51, Milobenski 1964, 36f.) and is a common feature of kings and tyrants, as stressed in Pi. *O.* 2. 94, *P.* 3. 71, Hdt. 3. 80. 5-10, Arist. *Rh.* 1387B 28-30; cf. Bulman (1992) 27f. and Walcot (1978) 11, 19f., 38f. If, on the other hand, the fragment is assigned to a sympathetic character (i.e. Dictys or less likely Perseus), *φθονῶ* would serve to strongly censure the misjudgement of righteous people when rushing towards vain debates with villains.

2 κακοῖσιν-ἐσθλός: In Euripides these adjectives may either commend the traditional, competitive values of noble birth, virtue in war and prosperity (as in *Med.* 406, *Heracl.* 115, 298, 642, 936, *Andr.* 766, 772, 872, Hec. 307, 327, *Telephus* fr. 703 Kn., *Sthen.* fr. 661. 2 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 244 Kn., cf. Adkins 1970, 74-79, Adkins 1972, 58-98, Sullivan 1995, 123-173 and note on *Danae* fr. 9. 1-5) or be used in a moral sense, in accordance with the co-operative excellences, which flourished in later fifth century (cf. note on fr. 14. 2 and *Alc.* 200, 418, 615, *Med.* 84, *Hipp.* 942, 945, 1024, 1077, *Andr.* 590, 595, 608, *Hec.* 597, *El.* 380ff., 551, *Ion* 370, 441, *IT* 566, *Or.* 741, *IA* 488, *Peliades* fr. 609 Kn., *Cressae* fr. 463 Kn., *Ino* fr. 402 Kn., *Mel. D.* frr. 494. 28, 511 Kn., *Meleagros* frr. 520, 521 Kn.). The development of co-operative excellences was primarily supported by democratic institutions, while the sophists put the traditional qualities into question; cf. Adkins (1960) 176ff., Adkins (1972) 115ff., Bryant (1996) 151-168, 205. The specification of the sense of *κακός-ἐσθλός* thus lies in context and in this case depends on who the speaker of the fragment was; if it was Polydectes, these adjectives would probably bear a social sense, namely 'socially inferior' and 'noble' respectively, whereas if these lines were spoken by Dictys or Perseus, the words would carry a moral meaning, i.e. 'unjust' and 'righteous', as the king cannot be regarded as *kakos* in a social sense. The contrast between *ἐσθλός* and *κακός* in either a social or moral sense is a commonplace; cf. for instance, *Il.* 1. 576, *Od.* 18. 404, Hes. *Op.* 179, Semon. fr. 6 W., Sol. fr. 13. 63 W., Thgn. 1. 35, 192, 289, 369, 1167, S. *Ant.* 38, 366, 622, *OC* 782, *Med.* 408, *Heracl.* 325f., *Hipp.* 411, *Andr.* 1280, *Hec.* 307f., 597f., 844f., *Ion* 1017, 1621f.

3 ἄμιλλα λόγων ματαίων: 'contest of idle words'. The phrase *λόγοι μάταιοι* occurs in the context of a formal debate also in *Andr.* 691f. and *Supp.* 582f. Considering that most conflicts in Euripidean *agōnes* remain unresolved (cf. Collard 1975$_b$, 62, Lloyd 1992, 16), the use of *μάταιος* here may well indicate that no argument is going to change Polydectes' intentions. The same word also means 'offensive, uncontrolled'; cf. *Med.* 450: λόγων ματαίων οὕνεκ' ἐκπεσῆι χθονός, A. *Ag.* 1662: ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι, *Eum.* 830: γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ 'κβάλῃς ἔπη, [A.] *Pr.* 329: γλώσσῃ ματαίᾳ ζημία προστρίβεται. The term *ἄμιλλα λόγων* constitutes a formal indication that an *agōn* is in progress; cf. *Med.* 546, *Hipp.* 971 (and Halleran 1995, *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 428. Alternatively, a formal debate is described by the terms *ἀγὼν λόγων* or *ἀγωνίζομαι* in *Heracl.* 116 (and Wilkins 1993, *ad loc.*), *Hipp.* 1023, *Andr.* 234 (and Lloyd 1994, *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 427, 465, *Ph.* 588, *Or.* 491, *Antiope* fr. 189 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 65f.); cf. Lloyd (1992) 5, 34f., Collard (1975$_b$) 61 and Goebel (1983) 280. In this fragment, as in *Supp.* 427f. and *Or.* 491 (cf. Willink 1986, *ad loc.*), the self-conscious use of agonistic terminology serves to initiate the *rhesis*.

4-5: The *δ'* is adversative introducing the second part of the antithesis, which focuses on the particularity of the present situation (the first part is initiated by *πολλοῖς*; cf. note *ad loc.*).

4 ἦν ἄρα: the Imperfect of *εἰμί* in conjunction with *ἄρα* indicates that a present fact or truth has just been recognized. It seems to be a colloquialism (cf. Stevens 1976, 62f. and Denniston 1950^2, 36f.); cf. *IT* 351: τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀληθές, *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 75 Kn.: ὦ παῖ Κρέοντος, ὡς ἀληθὲς ἦν ἄρα,/ ἐσθλῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐσθλὰ γίγνεσθαι τέκνα, *Med.* 703, *Hipp.* 359, *Andr.* 418, *Tr.* 412, 1240, *IA* 1330, *Phoenix* fr. 810 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 54 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 161 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 736 Kn., also S. *Tr.* 1172, fr. inc. 931 R., Ar. *Eq.* 384, 1170, *V.* 451, *Pax* 676, Pl. *Symp.* 198D, D. lv 1. It occurs as early as Hes. *Op.* 11f.: οὐκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν/ εἰσὶ δύω. Cf. also note on *Danae* fr. 1. 1.

οὐκ ἀκουστόν: mainly used with negation, as here. Cf. *Andr.* 1084: σήμαιν'· ἀκοῦσαι δ' οὐκ ἀκούσθ' ὅμως θέλω, *Hel.* 663, S. *OT* 1312: ἐς δεινὸν, οὐδ' ἀκουστὸν, οὐδ' ἐπόψιμον, *Creusa* fr. 357 R.: ἄπελθ', ἄπελθε, παῖ· τάδ' οὐκ ἀκουστά σοι. Photius (α 817 Theodorides) refers to *ἀκουσίμη* (occurring only in S. fr. inc. 745 R.: σπουδὴ γὰρ ἡ κατ' οἶκον ἐγκεκρυμμένη/ οὐ πρὸς θυραίων οὐδαμῶς ἀκουσίμη) as a synonym of *ἀκουστή*. Phrynichus (*Praep. Soph.* fr. 13

Borries/ Phot. α 818 Theodorides/ *Συναγωγή Λέξεων Χρησίμων* Bekker I 373) regards *ἀκουστά* as *πολιτικόν*, that is, befitting the language of civic life and thus of civil oratory (cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1356A 26-28 with reference to *ῥητορική* as off-shoot of *πολιτική*), which is consistent with the rhetorical context of the present fragment.

οὐδ' ἀνασχετόν: 'intolerable, unendurable'; mostly used with negation and expressive of either indignation, as in this case (cf. *Andr.* 599, *Ion* 636, A. *Th.* 182, *Oreithyia* fr. 398 R., S. *Ph.* 987 and as early as *Od.* 2. 63), or weakness towards something unbearable (cf. *Hipp.* 354, S. *Tr.* 721, *OC* 1652 and Kamerbeek 1984, *ad loc.*).

5 κλύοντα δεινά: the passive of *κακῶς/κακὰ λέγω* ('to speak badly of'); hearing or speaking *δεινά* refers to the utterance of serious insults, as in this fragment, or unspeakable things (cf. *Hipp.* 498f.: ὦ δεινὰ λέξασ', οὐχὶ συγκλήισεις στόμα/ καὶ μὴ μεθήσεις αὖθις αἰσχίστους λόγους; 581f.: ὁ τῆς φιλίππου παῖς Ἀμαζόνος βοᾶι / Ἱππόλυτος, αὐδῶν δεινὰ πρόσπολον κακά, 604: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀκούσας δείν' ὅπως σιγήσομαι) and to the announcement of disasters (cf. *Hipp.* 1239, *HF* 1186, *Hel.* 1519, A. *Pers.* 245, S. *Ai.* 331, *OT* 790). Right from the beginning of his *rhēsis*, the speaker underlines his opponent's offensive attitude, which is a common rhetorical practice (cf. Antiphon vi 7.5, Lys. ix 2-3, xix 3.5), also recommended by Aristotle in *Rh.* 1415A 29-34. Similarly, Amphitryon states that he is forced to answer to Lycus' abuses in *HF* 173: κακῶς γάρ σ' οὐκ ἐατέον κλύειν. Cf. the possible proem of Alexandros' speech (fr. 56 Kn. and Duchemin 1968[2], 83, Jouan and van Looy 1998, 50), which seems to belong to the *agōn* of the *Alexandros*.

πρὸς κακιόνων: for the possible nuance of *κακίονες*, cf. introductory note.

Fr. 5:

This line is a comment on a king's (i.e. Polydectes') speech, which would have naturally followed his *rhēsis*. References to a character's manner of speaking and presenting a case occur regularly in formal debates; cf. *Med.* 576, 580-585, *Hipp.* 1038-1040, *Andr.* 234, *Hec.* 1187-1194, 1237f., *Supp.* 426, *Tr.* 967f., 997f., *Ph.* 471f., 526f., *IA* 333 and Jouan (1984) 7-9. The location of this fragment in an *agōn* is thus quite likely.

The speaker of this line could be the king's opponent at the debate, to which fr. 4 belongs—the likeliest candidate for this role is Dictys,

though Perseus cannot be excluded (cf. introductory note on fr. 4)[411]—criticizing Polydectes' lengthy and elaborate speech and attributing it to his position as τύραννος. In this case, the use of the adjective may not be 'innocent', but could involve the negative connotations of the word (cf. note *ad loc.*). It is a common tactic of the participants in rhetorical contests to pass negative judgments on the adversary's eloquence; cf. *Med.* 580-585, *Hipp.* 1038-1040, *Andr.* 234, *Hec.* 1187-1191, *Supp.* 426, *HF* 238f., *IA* 333, Jouan (1984) 7-13 and note *ad loc.*

This fragment may alternatively be assigned to the chorus-leader, who, as a rule, makes brief comments on the preceding speech or on the nature of the debate after each *rhēsis*.[412] Choral interventions usually occupy two iambic trimeters, though in *Med.* 576-578, *Heracl.* 232-235, *Andr.* 642-644, *Tr.* 966-968 and *El.* 1051-1054 they exceed the traditional distich.[413] Cases in Euripides' debates of choral judgments occupying only one line are very rare,[414] therefore, if this verse is to be assigned to the chorus-leader, it could be assumed that it may have derived from a distich (or from a choral comment longer than a distich) following Polydectes' speech. If so, the adjective τυραννικόν is more likely to convey a neutral rather than a negative meaning, since the chorus-leader rarely takes sides, unless particularly associated with one of the central characters in the play, as in *Hec.*1183f., 1238f., *Tr.* 966-968, 1033-1035 and *Ba.* 263-265, 328f. For choral judgments on the speaker's elaborate articulation, cf. *Med.* 576-578, *Tr.* 966-968, *Ph.* 526f.

τυραννικόν: τύραννος often occurs in tragedy in a neutral sense ('king') as a synonym for ἄναξ and βασιλεύς, as in *Alc.* 286, 654, *Med.* 453, 597, 1298, *Andr.* 3, 202, 882, *HF* 809, *Ion* 236, 1572, *El.* 877, *Ph.* 197, *Or.* 1356, A. *Ch.* 358, S. *Ai.* 749, *Ant.* 1169, *OT* 513, 799, 925, 1043, *Tr.* 316, *OC* 419, 449; cf. Andrewes (1956) 20-23, 30, O'Neil (1986) 34-36. If this line was uttered by the chorus-leader, τύραννος would normally convey this neutral sense. Considering, however, that the Athenian democratic audience was extremely unfavourable towards tyranny, the attributes of the 'tyrant', namely illegal, violent and insolent behaviour, are exploited by the dramatists to describe the 'bad king'; cf. *Med.* 348 (and

[411] This line was assigned to Dictys by Stoessl (1956, 162) and Webster (1967, 64). Jouan and van Looy (2000, 82) regard it as Perseus' attack on Polydectes' tyrannical behaviour.
[412] Cf. Duchemin (1968²) 152 and Collard (1975b) 60.
[413] Cf. Duchemin (1968²) 152 and n. 6.
[414] The sole case is *Heracl.* 271, 273, where the chorus-leader unexpectedly intervenes in the final stichomythic dialogue at a climactic point of the *agōn* to prevent Demophon from striking the Argive messenger; it is obvious, however, that this is an exceptional case of choral interference dictated by the culminating tension of the scene.

Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), *HF* 251, *Ph.* 524f., 549, *Ba.* 776f., *Alcmeon in Corinth* fr. 76 Kn., A. *Ag.* 1355, 1365, 1633, [A.] *Pr.* 10, 222, 305, 736, 942, S. *OT* 873 and Carey (1986) 176, O'Neil (1986) 30-33, Easterling (1984) 36, 41f., Walcot (1976) 54-56, Tuplin (1985) 374. If this line was uttered by Polydectes' opponent at the debate, the word could connote these particular features of the despotic ruler. The unconstitutional and violent nature of tyranny is explicitly rejected in *Supp.* 403-408, 429-455 (cf. Collard 1975_a, 207f., 226), *Ion* 621-628 (cf. Lee 1997, 230 and Owen 1939, 114), *Or.* 1167f. (cf. Willink 1986, *ad loc.*), *Peliades* fr. 605 Kn, *Bell.* fr. 286. 5-7 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), *Pleisthenes* fr. 626 Kn., *Auge* fr. 275 Kn. Furthermore, the word *τύραννος* describes the absolute monarch on the model of Oriental despots, carrying negative associations with the ideas of extreme power, excessive wealth and insolence; cf. note on fr. 2. 7.

τοι: it originates in the ethic dative of the second-person singular pronoun, marking an appeal for agreement (cf. Mastronarde 2002, 92). As in the present case and in fr. 13, it frequently occurs in gnomic utterances; cf. Denniston (1954^2) 542f., Stanford (1963) on S. *Ai.* 1350, *Heracl.* 387, *Hipp.* 467, 610, *Andr.* 89, 636, *Hec.* 228, *Supp.* 312, *IT* 670, *Ph.* 1659, *Or.* 397, A. *Pers.* 245, *Th.* 438, 715, S. *Tr.* 327f., *El.* 415, *Ph.* 81 (and Jebb 1890, *ad loc.*), 837.

πόλλ' ἐπίστασθαι λέγειν: this phrase comments on the speaker's loquacity, but also on his eloquence, as indicated by the use of *ἐπίστασθαι*. *Μακρολογία* in presenting one's case is regarded as a serious weakness in oratory; cf. Antiphon i 18. 1-4 (and Gagarin 1997, *ad loc.*), Lys. xiv 28.3, xxii 7.5, D. ii 20.8, xi 23.1, xiv 41.1, xl 11. 2, xlii 7.2, 12.4, Isoc. iii 63.2, iv 66.5, xi 44.3, xii 181.1, 270.3. Likewise, it is criticized in Euripides' formal debates; cf. *Med.* 523-525: ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸν οἰακοστρόφον/ ἄκροισι λαίφους κρασπέδοις ὑπεκδραμεῖν/ τὴν σὴν στόμαργον, ὦ γύναι, γλωσσαλγίαν, *Hec.* 1177-1180: ὡς δὲ μὴ μακροὺς τείνω λόγους [...] / ἅπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὼν ἐγὼ φράσω. The speaker's eloquence is often described in debates with phrases such as *λέγειν δεινός* (*Med.* 585), *εὖ κοσμεῖν λόγους* (*Med.* 576), *κομψός* and its derivatives (*Supp.* 426, *IA* 333), *εὐγλωσσία* (*Alexandros* fr. 56 Kn.). For more detail, cf. Jouan (1984) 7-9. If this line was uttered by Polydectes' opponent, it could follow a common line of attack in Euripidean debates, by rejecting the adversary's elaborate and sophisticated articulation at the expense of truth and justice; cf. *Med.* 576 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), 579-585, *Hipp.* 984f., 1038-1040 (and Lloyd 1992, 51), *Andr.* 234f., *Hec.* 1187-1194 (and Collard 1991, *ad loc.*,

Conacher 1998, 64, Buxton 1982, 181f.), *Supp.* 426 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *HF* 238, *Tr.* 967f. (and Lee 1976, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 526f. (and Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*), *IA* 333, *Alexandros* fr. 56 Kn., *Palamedes* fr. 583 Kn. (and Scodel 1980, 61) and Jouan (1984) 7-13, Scodel (2000) 134-139, Lloyd (1992) 26.

Fr. 6:

These lines as transmitted could be a statement, as well as a question, addressed to Polydectes as an argument against his plans to beget children from Danae; the king already has successors of his royal *oikos* and the birth of new children would only raise hostility among his offspring (presumably in terms of succession). The possibility that these lines could have been uttered by one of the suppliants, perhaps Dictys,[415] certainly cannot be ruled out. It is worth noting, however, that the father-son relationship is a recurring theme in frr. 7 and 8, as emerges from the use of the pair *πατήρ-παῖδες*. Fr. 9 is also thematically related, describing the devastating consequences of Polydectes' passion on his household. Hence, it can reasonably be observed that this particular discussion of the effects of the king's desire on his family is given unusual prominence if it is merely part of a wide-ranging debate between Polydectes and the suppliants; as it occupies no fewer than four fragments (i.e. sixteen surviving lines), it may not have been a simple argument used by one of the suppliants (fr. 6) and refuted by Polydectes (frr. 8, 9, perhaps also fr. 7), but could have been part of a conversation devoted to the issue of Polydectes' relationship with his children. Moreover, it should be noted that the tone of frr. 6-9 does not point to a straightforward conflict between the two parties (as in the context of a confrontation between Polydectes and the suppliants, cf. introductory notes on frr. 3 and 4), but rather, to an effort for a *νουθέτησις* of the king by his interlocutor (cf. introductory note on fr. 9 and the use of φιλ- derivatives in frr. 7.1, 8.2, suggestive of affection).

If so, this discussion is likely to have occurred between the king and another character. This 'other character' may have been a kind of 'confidant', perhaps a servant, as the nurse in *Hipp.* 176-361, 433-524,

[415] So Jouan and van Looy (2000) 81, Webster (1967) 64, Stoessl (1958) 160, Hartung (1843-1844) I 367, Wecklein (1888) 112.

680-731 and the old servant in *Ion* 735-1047,[416] or even likelier, the king's son.[417] Such a discussion between father and son about the impact of Polydectes' plans on his family (cf. similarly Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 24. 7-8 for the same conversation of Peisistratus and Cato with their sons) may be paralleled to the intergenerational confrontation of Ion and Xuthus in *Ion* 569-675 (cf. Lee 1997, 224-232), Admetus and Pheres in *Alc.* 614-740 (though the conflict is explicit there), the debates between Aeolus and Macareus in *Aeolus* frr. 15, 16, 19-26 Kn. (cf. Jouan and van Looy 1998, 25 and Webster 1967, 158), Merops and Phaethon in *Phaethon* 109-167 Diggle (cf. Diggle 1970, 38f.) and certainly that between Creon and Haemon in S. *Ant.* 635-780.[418] The possibility of Polydectes' confrontation with his son would have had interesting dramatic and thematic implications, not least because it could have offered the opportunity of a double treatment of the parent-offspring relationship within the same play (cf. introductory note on fr. 12): on the one hand, the possible crisis in the king's relationship with his son (frr. 6-9) and, on the other hand, Danae's affection for her own son (cf. her lament in fr. 2), by whom she is finally rescued.

The possibility that another character, of whom all trace is lost, enters the stage raises questions of staging and distribution of roles: according to Euripides' dramatic technique, the suppliants normally occupy their places at the altar upon a 'cancelled entry' at the beginning of the play and one of them delivers the prologue-speech; this is the case in the *Heraclidae*, *Andromache*, *Heracles* and *Helen* (cf. Setting). On the basis of T3 and T5, Danae and Dictys would have remained at Poseidon's altar until Perseus' return; considering that no more than three speakers are allowed on stage, one has to suppose that at least one of the two actors playing the suppliants must exit, in order to return as Polydectes' interlocutor. A ready parallel occurs in the *Suppliant Women*, where the

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[416] So Webster (1967) 64. For the role of the 'servant-confidant' in Euripides, cf. also *Sthen.* fr. 661. 10-14 and perhaps frr. 663-665 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), *Cretans* fr. 472e. 47 Kn., *Alope* fr. 108 Kn. (Hyg. *fab.* 287), hyp. *Aeolus* (*P. Oxy.* 2457. 34), hyp. *Melanippe the Wise* (*P. Oxy.* 2455. 11) and the vase-illustration of this play in Trendall and Cambitoglou (1991) no. 283d , *Auge* frr. 271a, b Kn. and *Danae*, *Dramatis Personae*.

[417] So Duchemin (1968^2) 92.

[418] The *agōn* between Theseus and Hippolytus in *Hipp.* 912-1089, though involving intergenerational confrontation, is primarily a 'trial-debate'; cf. Barrett (1964) 334f., Duchemin (1968^2) 76. The intergenerational conflict in fifth-century Athens (for which, cf. Strauss 1993, 136-144) is also reflected in comedy; cf. Ar. *Clouds, V.* 652, 655, 875-881, Eupolis *Dēmoi* frr. 99. 116, 104 K.-A. (and Storey 2003, 136), also Ehrenberg (1943) 208-211.

actor playing Aethra exits at vv. 359-364 to re-enter as Theban Herald at v. 399.[419] Similarly, the *Orestes* begins with Electra and Orestes on stage, the former being induced to exit at v. 301f., as the next scene (vv. 356-728) requires two more speaking characters (i.e. Menelaus and Tyndareus), one of whom must be interpreted by the actor playing Electra.[420] It is thus reasonable to suppose that at least one of the two actors playing Danae and Dictys exits for some reason and re-enters to interpret this other character. Since the question of leaving the sanctuary is a *topos* in suppliant plays, it may be assumed that Polydectes might have forced Danae and Dictys to leave the altar (cf. Plot-Structure, p. 135); they could thus have been absent at the scene of the discussion on the father-son theme or have re-entered, one of them being a *kōphon prosōpon*. Likewise, Menelaus forces Andromache to leave the sanctuary in *Andr.* 411, Heracles' family exits to prepare for death in *HF* 332-347 and Helen leaves altar and stage in *Hel.* 330-333, which serves the specific dramatic purpose of Menelaus' entrance and self-introduction on the empty stage before the couple's encounter and recognition.[421]

1-2: for the significance of children for the preservation of the *oikos* and the *polis*, cf. note on fr. 2. 6. Since Polydectes already has offspring, the continuity of his royal *oikos* has been ensured, therefore there is no point in begetting children from Danae; the same argument occurs in *Med.* 489-491 against Jason's second marriage (cf. Mastronarde 2002, on v. 490): προύδωκας ἡμᾶς, καινὰ δ' ἐκτήσω λέχη,/ παίδων γεγώτων· εἰ γὰρ ἦσθ' ἄπαις ἔτι,/ συγγνώστ' ἂν ἦν σοι τοῦδ' ἐρασθῆναι λέχους.

3 ἔχθραν . . . συμβάλλων τέκνοις: *LSJ*[9]: 'to set one to fight with the other'. The Present participle *συμβάλλων* of the manuscript tradition indicates what Polydectes is now in the process of doing, the consequences of which will affect his children. Since the reading of the manuscript tradition fits the context, there is no reason for adopting Bergk's *συμβαλῶν*, which would transfer the action exclusively to the future. Mähly's *ἐμβαλῶν* fails to denote hostility within the family, as συν- does. Moreover, *συμβάλλω* is used by Euripides in parallel contexts; cf. *Med.* 44: συμβαλὼν ἔχθραν τις αὐτῇ, 521: φίλοι φίλοισι συμβάλωσ' ἔριν, *El.* 906: ἀσπόνδοισι νόμοισιν ἔχθραν τῶιδε συμβεβλήκαμεν, *Ba.* 837: συμβαλὼν βάκχαις μάχην.

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[419] Cf. Collard (1975$_a$) *ad loc.*
[420] Cf. West (1987) 196.
[421] Cf. Dale (1967) 93.

The hostility between half-brothers from the same father usually derives from the question of succession. In most mythical and dramatic treatments of the theme of a father's (usually a king's) remarriage, it is often the stepmother, the father's second wife, plotting against her stepchildren, in order to ensure that her own sons will get hold of royal power; cf. for instance, the stepmother's plot in the *Ino* (Hyg. *fab.* 4) and the two *Phrixus* plays by Euripides ([Apollod.] 1. 9.1, Hyg. *fab.* 2, cf. van Looy 1964, 165-183), the killing of Chrysippus by his half-brothers Atreus and Thyestes as instigated by their mother Hippodamia (Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F157, Hyg. *fab.* 85), the murder of Phocus by his half-brother Peleus induced by his mother Endeis (schol. vet. *Andr.* 687 Schwartz, [Apollod.] 3. 12.6, Ov. *Met.* 11. 266-270, Hyg. *fab.* 14. 8, Ant. Lib. *Met.* 38) and Watson (1995) 20-91, McHardy (2005) 131-133.[422] The treatment of the strife between half-siblings over royal succession in tragedy may reflect real life, as emerges from numerous legal cases of disputes between half-brothers over their father's inheritance; cf. Is. xii, D. xlv 28, xxxix (dispute over the family-name and the legitimacy of a patrilinear half-brother, cf. Carey and Reid 1985, 160-167, Cohen 1995, 163-166, Humphreys 1989, 182-185), [D.] xlviii 10, l 60 (and Pomeroy 1997, 190), Seaford (1990_a) 170, Ogden (1990) 189-198. Remarriage was frequent in Classical Athens (cf. Thomson 1972, 211-225, Erdmann 1934, 403-405) and a father's inheritance was equally shared by all his legitimate male children (cf. Is. vi 25 and Harrison 1968, I 130-132, MacDowell 1978, 92f., Todd 1993, 219). The male offspring of a father's first marriage was thus often ill-disposed towards his patrilinear half-brothers, since he would be the recipient of a smaller, because divided, inheritance (X. *Mem.* 2. 3. 1-5); cf. Hunter (1994) 49, Christ (1998) 168-173, Garland (1990) 259f., Humphreys (1986) 75f.

Fr. 7:

These lines appealing to the indisputable natural and emotional bonds between fathers and children (cf. especially *φίλτατον* and note *ad loc.*)

[422] In Hyg. *fab.* 186, which roughly provides the plot of Euripides' *Captive Melanippe*, Theano urges her sons to kill her foster-children (namely Melanippe's sons), so that the former can obtain kingship. Stepmothers are generally regarded as malicious against their stepchildren, even if they do not have any children of their own; cf. *Alc.* 304-310, 371-378, *Andr.* 47f., 68f., 309-765, *Ion* 1302, *Aegeus* fr. 4 Kn.

seem to have belonged to the same context as frr. 6 and 8 and perhaps also fr. 9, all of which deal with the manner in which the king's passion affects his family (cf. introductory note on fr. 6). The prominent notion of the natural alliance and reciprocity between father and offspring recurs in fr. 8. 1-3 probably spoken by Polydectes, who uses the phrase *ἡδέως συνεκφέρειν* ('to assist gladly till the end') with reference to the love-affairs of both sides. Accordingly, Polydectes could have been the speaker of the present fragment as well, expressing his expectation that his offspring would support his plans for Danae.[423] Alternatively, these lines could be assigned to Polydectes' interlocutor (perhaps his son, cf. introductory note on fr. 6),[424] who would be expected to emphasize the strong priority that the king should give his children rather than his desire for Danae. The concept of reciprocity could be an assertion of loyalty similar, for instance, to Haemon's in S. *Ant.* 635f. (cf. Griffith 1999, *ad loc.*) and 701-704, balancing the speaker's attempted refutation of Polydectes. The notion of the strong alliance between father and children recurs in Amphion's plea to his father Zeus in *Antiope* fr. 223. 11-14 Kn. (cf. Collard, Cropp and Gibert 2004, 315, Kambitsis 1972, 104): σοὶ δ' ὃς τ]ὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον/ λέγω τ]οσοῦτον· μὴ γαμεῖν μὲν ἡδέως,/ γήμαν]τα δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις ἀνωφελῆ·/ οὐ γὰρ κ]αλὸν τόδ', ἀλλὰ συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.

1 ἐγὼ νομίζω: the verb together with the personal pronoun is often used in argumentation, in order to emphasize one's opinion and draw a contrast to ideas previously stated; cf. *Med.* 526-528, *HF* 282, *Ion* 645, *IT* 484, *Antiope* fr. 206 Kn. and note on *Danae* fr. 12. 3. In the present fragment, the verb serves to assert a common truth; on parental love for children, cf. note on fr. 12. 3.

φίλτατον: the superlative *φίλτατον* often serves to appeal to the closest natural and emotional bond between people; cf. *Heracl.* 414: ἑκὼν δὲ τίς κακῶς οὕτω φρονεῖ,/ ὅστις τὰ φίλτατ' ἐκ χερῶν δώσει τέκνα; *HF* 1112: πάτερ, τί κλαίεις καὶ συναμπίσχηι κόρας,/ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι τηλόθεν παιδὸς βεβώς; *El.* 679: ἄμυν' ἄμυνε τοῖσδε φιλτάτοις τέκνοις, A. *Ch.* 193, 1051, Fraenkel's note on A. *Ag.* 329 and Landfester (1966) 83f., 89.

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[423] Cf. Duchemin (1968[2]) 92.

[424] Webster (1967, 64 and n. 42), followed by Aélion (1986, 159, n. 29), assigned the fragment to Perseus promising his aid to Danae and Dictys; however, these lines fit only loosely —and rather oddly—to the situation, due to the occurrence of *πατρί;* instead of referring exclusively to his foster-father, Dictys, Perseus would be expected primarily to address his mother.

2 συμμάχους: for the idea of alliance between blood-kin, cf. *Andr.* 370f.: θυγατρί σύμμαχος καθίσταμαι, *El.* 581: ('Ηλ.) ἐκεῖνος εἶ σύ; ('Ορ.) σύμμαχός γέ σοι μόνος, *Antiope* fr. 223. 14 Kn: συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.

3 ἐνδικωτέρους: 'rightful, duty-bound'; cf. A. *Th.* 673, *Ch.* 329f., S. *OT* 135. The rightfulness of the alliance described in this fragment relies on blood-kinship. Similarly, *ἔνδικος* denotes rightfulness based on kinship in *El.* 224: οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτου θίγοιμ' ἂν ἐνδικώτερον, *Hel.* 1648f.: τὰ τῶν θεῶν/ τιμῶσα πατρός τ' ἐνδίκους ἐπιστολάς.

Fr. 8:

This fragment is likely to belong to the same context as frr. 6 and 7 and possibly also fr. 9, all of which focus on the impact of Polydectes' passion for Danae on his family (cf. introductory note on fr. 6). These lines seem to have been uttered by Polydectes himself,[425] in his possible effort to gain the support of his offspring for his plans for Danae and focus on the mutual understanding and assistance that should exist between fathers and sons towards each other's love affairs. The argument is reinforced by the attribution of amorous passion to divine will rather than human choice; by presenting love as a necessitating condition imposed by gods, the speaker is denying responsibility for his attitude. This position could be paralleled to the *adikoi logoi* of Helen in *Tr.* 948-950, of the nurse in *Hipp.* 433-481 and of Pasiphae in *Cretans* fr. 472e Kn.; cf. note on l. 4.

1 ἡδέως συνεκφέρειν: συνεκφέρειν (*LSJ* [9]): 'to carry out together, to bear to the end along with someone'; *ἐκφέρειν* denotes 'to bring to one's end', as in S. *Ai.* 7 (see Garvie 1998 *ad loc.*: 'it indicates the completion of the process of carrying', for *ἐκφέρειν* as 'carrying' in a metaphorical sense, cf. *Andr.* 621, *Ion* 1012), S. *Tr.* 824. It thus presents desire as a burden, whose victim requires constant help through to the end. Double-compound verbs tend to be used by Euripides for greater expressiveness (cf. Mastronarde 2002, 93); cf. *Tr.* 1018: *συνεκκλέψασα*, *El.* 73: *συνεκκομίζειν*, *IT* 684: *συνεκπνεῦσαι*, *Hel.* 1406: *συνεκπονεῖ*, *Andromeda* fr. 136 Kn.: *συνεκπόνει* and for further examples, Bubel (1991) 136. An eloquent parallel to l. 1f. occurs in *Hipp.* 464f. (cited in

[425] So Webster (1967) 64, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 81, Stoessl (1958) 160, Bittrich (2005) 48.

TrGF V,1 386): πόσους δὲ παισὶ πατέρας ἡμαρτηκόσιν/ συνεκκομίζειν Κύπριν; Barrett (1964, 243) plausibly interpreted the infinitive *συνεκκομίζειν* of the nurse's words as 'to assist'; *συνεκφέρειν* is a synonym of *συνεκκομίζειν* and given the parallel contexts of the *adikos logos* of the nurse and possibly of Polydectes here, *συνεκφέρειν* in conjunction with *ἡδέως* seems to denote 'to assist gladly/ graciously/ courteously'. Though the reading *ἡδέως* of the manuscript tradition is acceptable, Stadtmüller's conjecture *ἠπίως* ('gently, kindly') based on the similarity with fr. inc. 951 Kn. (ἦν οἱ τεκόντες τοῦτο γιγνώσκωσ' ὅτι/ νέοι ποτ' ἦσαν, ἠπίως τὴν τῶν τέκνων/ οἴσουσι Κύπριν;) is quite tempting. The adjective *ἤπιος* describes a father's attitude towards his children also in fr. inc. 950 Kn.: ὡς ἡδὺ πατέρα παισὶν ἤπιον κυρεῖν, *Il.* 24. 770, *Od.* 2. 47, 234.

2 φίλους ἔρωτας: the Homeric and early poetic usage of *φίλος* denoting possession/ parts of one's body ('one's own', cf. *Il.* 3. 31, 9. 610, 19. 209, *Hipp.* 199 and Barrett 1964, *ad loc.*: λέλυμαι μελέων σύνδεσμα φίλων, 1238: σποδούμενος μὲν πρὸς πέτραις φίλον κάρα, *Supp.* 361, *Or.* 372, *Pha.* fr. 782.2 Kn.: φίλαισιν ὠλέναισι, A. *Pers.* 648, *Ag.* 619, 983, *Ch.* 410, 547 and Landfester 1966, 51-65) seems here to intermingle with the common meaning of affection, since it accompanies *ἔρωτας* (cf. similarly *El.* 596: φίλας ἡδονὰς ἀσπασμάτων, *Or.* 795: φίλα κηδεύματα). In this light, it coheres with *ἡδέως* to stress the rightness of unstinting support: as the children are dear, so are their desires.

αὐθαδίαν: 'wilfulness, stubbornness'; this notion constitutes a particular feature of Sophoclean characters, describing confidence in one's rightness and pride in one's independence of spirit; cf. S. *OT* 549f.: εἴ τοι νομίζεις κτῆμα τὴν αὐθαδίαν / εἶναί τι τοῦ νοῦ χωρίς, οὐκ ὀρθῶς φρονεῖς, *Ant.* 1028 (cf. Griffith 1999, 34-38 and note *ad loc.*): αὐθαδία τοι σκαιότητ' ὀφλισκάνει, and Knox (1964) 38-52. For passages in Sophocles expressive of this idea, cf. additionally *Ai.* 595, 1099, *Ant.* 875, *OT* 1084f. (and Dawe 1982, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 950. Cf. also *Med.* 104 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*): ἄγριον ἦθος στυγεράν τε φύσιν/ φρενὸς αὐθαδοῦς, 223, 621: σοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀρέσκει τἀγάθ', ἀλλ' αὐθαδίαι/ φίλους ἀπωθῇι, 1028, *Hipp.* 304, *El.* 1117, [A.] *Pr.* 64, 79 (and Griffith 1983, *ad loc.*), 436, 907, 964f.: τοιοῖσδε μέντοι καὶ πρὶν αὐθαδίσμασιν/ εἰς τάσδε σαυτὸν πημονὰς καθώρμισας, 1012, 1034f., 1037, Ar. *Th.* 704, *Ra.* 1020. The speaker cleverly attributes any resistance (as against compliance) to wilfulness rather than principle.

3 αὐθαίρετοι: 'self-chosen'. Cf. the comic parallel in Men. *Aspis* 288 (and Gomme and Sandbach 1973, *ad loc.*): ἔρωτι περιπεσὼν γὰρ

οὐκ αὐθαιρέτωι. Cf. especially *Supp.* 931 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *Bell.* fr. 292. 4f. Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): νόσοι δὲ θνητῶν αἳ μέν εἰσ' αὐθαίρετοι,/ αἳ δ' ἐκ θεῶν πάρεισιν, fr. inc. 1026 Kn.: τὰ πλεῖστα θνητοῖς τῶν κακῶν αὐθαίρετα, S. *OT* 1230f., *OC* 521-523: ἤνεγκον κακότατ', ὦ ξένοι, ἤνεγκον ἑκὼν μέν,/ θεὸς ἴστω·/ τούτων δ' αὐθαίρετον οὐδέν.

4 οὐδ' ἑκουσία νόσος: acting *οὐχ ἑκών* is conjoined with circumstances of *ἀνάγκη*, namely circumstances external from human will and, in this context, defined by the gods (cf. note on l. 6); cf. especially Rickert (1989) 36, 60f., 63f. Parallel cases of the agent presented as acting *ἄκων* constrained by divine will occur in *Heracl.* 986, *Hipp.* 319: φίλος μ' ἀπόλλυσ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσαν οὐχ ἑκών, 358-361: οἱ σώφρονες γάρ, οὐχ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὅμως,/ κακῶν ἐρῶσι. Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός, / ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ,/ ἣ τήνδε κἀμὲ καὶ δόμους ἀπώλεσεν, *Andr.* 680: Ἑλένη δ' ἐμόχθησ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν, S. *Ai.* 447-455, *OC* 962-964: ὅστις φόνους μοι καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφορὰς/ τοῦ σοῦ διῆκας στόματος, ἃς ἐγὼ τάλας/ ἤνεγκον ἄκων· θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον, Ibyc. *PMG* fr. 287, Simon. *PMG* fr. 542. 27-30: πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω,/ ἑκὼν ὅστις ἔρδηι/ μηδὲν αἰσχρόν· ἀνάγκαι/ δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται, fr. 541. 8-10, Theoc. 30. 28-31, *A.P.* 12. 79.3 and Fischer (1973) 54-56.

The description of love as a disease is a commonplace in poetry; cf. Archil. fr. 193 W., Sappho fr. 31. 5-15 L.-P., *Andr.* 220f. (cf. Stevens 1971 and Lloyd 1994, *ad loc.*), S. *Tr.* 441-448 (and Easterling 1982, 128f., Davies 1991$_a$, 130f., Biggs 1966, 229f.), 491f., 544, *Lovers of Achilles* fr. 149 R., Eub. *Campylion* fr. 40. 6 K.-A. (and Hunter 1983, *ad loc.*). For the strong effects of love on human soul and for the relation of sentiments such as fear, shame, grief and fury to physical symptoms, cf. Hp. *De Humor.* 9.

For the presentation of love as god-sent *νόσος*, cf. especially *Hipp.* 40, 121-309 (and Barrett 1964, 182, 195, 200, Zeitlin 1985, 59-63, 106-110), 394, 474-479, 512, 597, 698, 766, *Tr.* 1042 (and Biehl 1989, 378): τὴν νόσον τὴν τῶν θεῶν, *Cretans* fr. 472e. 9f. Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): νῦν δ', ἐκ θεοῦ γὰρ προσβολῆς ἐμηνάμην,/ ἀλγῶ μέν, ἐστὶ δ' οὐχ ἑκούσιον κακόν, 12, 20f., 25f., 30 (cf. Cantarella 1964, 71f.), *Ino* fr. 400. 2 Kn.: ὅσον νόσημα τὴν Κύπριν κεκτήμεθα, *Hipp. Cal.* fr. 428 Kn.: οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν/ νοσοῦσ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄγαν θηρωμένοις, S. *Phaedra* fr. 680 R. (and Pearson 1917, *ad loc.*): νόσους δ' ἀνάγκη τὰς θεηλάτους φέρειν, Eub. *Nannion* fr. 67. 8-9 K.-A.: λαθραίαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων πασῶν,

Men. *Dysc.* 44 (cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, *ad loc.*), X. *Cyr.* 5. 1.12. For the *Dictys*, in particular, cf. Bittrich (2005) 48f.

If amorous passion is presented as god-implanted and not as *ἑκούσιον* or *αὐθαίρετον*, humans expect to be released from responsibility for their actions; cf. De Romilly (1976) 311-321, Cozzoli (2001) 33-39, Rivier (1975^2_a) 184f. The denial of personal responsibility by shifting the burden of one's misconduct exclusively to the gods is prominent in the defence-speeches of Helen (*Tr.* 948-950, 1042, cf. Basta Donzelli 1986, 389-409, Lloyd 1984, 307-309, Gregory 1991, 171-173 and Lloyd 1992, 104f.) and Pasiphae (*Cretans* fr. 472e Kn., cf. Dolfi 1984, 125-138, Reckford 1974, 319-328, Rivier 1975_b, 48-60), as well as in the nurse's speech in *Hipp.* 433-481 (cf. Barrett 1964, 238-248 and Gregory 1991, 67-70), and seems to be the excuse also for Polydectes' passion and misbehaviour. Cf. similarly, Gorg. *Hel.* 15-20 (and MacDowell 1982, 42f.). Nevertheless, from Homer onwards divine influence as such does not seem to count as an excuse, since passion may be involuntary (god-sent), but one's response is not; cf. Adkins (1960) 14-16, 22-25, 120-127, Lloyd Jones (1971) 150f., Dodds (1951) 185f. Therefore, argumentation of this sort would have been questionable in everyday life and is commonly associated in tragedy with characters whose attitude is immoral, as in the above mentioned cases. For the power of Aphrodite, cf. below, fr. 9. 1.

5 σκαιόν τι δὴ τὸ χρῆμα γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ: 'it is often a foolish thing to do...' For similar phrasing, cf. *Andr.* 957f.: σοφόν τι χρῆμα τοῦ διδάξαντος βροτοὺς/ λόγους ἀκούειν τῶν ἐναντίων πάρα, *El.* 606f.: εὕρημα γάρ τοι χρῆμα γίγνεται τόδε,/ κοινῆι μετασχεῖν τἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ, *Alcmene* fr. 96 Kn.: σκαιόν τι χρῆμα πλοῦτος ἥ τ' ἀπειρία. This periphrastic use of *χρῆμα* is a colloquialism; cf. Stevens (1976) 20-22, Bergson (1967) 79-88.

6 θεῶν ἀνάγκας: the notion of *ἀνάγκη* is here related to divine will as opposed to human free will (cf. ll. 3-4: *αὐθαίρετοι, ἑκουσία*); cf. Schreckenberg (1964) 36-44, 72-81, Lanzi (2000) 81-94, Kamerbeek (1948) 272-278, Greene (1944) 143-163, 181-186, 191-196. The speaker thus presents love as a necessitating condition caused by divine interference; cf. Dover (1974) 137f., 208. The concept of *ἀνάγκη* as a natural phenomenon exerting superior force and clashing with human will and choice *(ἑκών)* occurs in Arist. *EN* 1109B 35-1110A 4, *EE* 1224A 20-23. For *ἀνάγκη* in tragedy, cf. *Alc.* 962-981, *Hec.* 584 (and Collard 1991, *ad loc.*): θεῶν ἀνάγκαισιν, *HF* 859, *Tr.* 886, *El.* 1301 (and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*), *Ph.* 999f.: οἱ μὲν θεσφάτων ἐλεύθεροι/ κοὐκ εἰς ἀνάγκην δαιμόνων ἀφιγμένοι, 1763: τὰς γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ἀνάγκας θνητὸν ὄντα δεῖ

φέρειν, *IA* 443 (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*), 512, 761, *Telephus* fr. 716 Kn. (and Preiser 2000, 413-415): σὺ δ' εἶκ' ἀνάγκῃ καὶ θεοῖσι μὴ μάχου, *Bell.* fr. 299 Kn.: πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην πάντα τἄλλ' ἔστ' ἀσθενῆ, *Licymnios* fr. 475 Kn., fr. inc. 965 Kn., A. *Pers.* 293, *Ag.* 218 (cf. Denniston and Page 1957, *ad loc.*), *Ch.* 75, [A.] *Pr.* 105 (and Griffith 1983, *ad loc.*), S. *Ph.* 1316f.: ἀνθρώποισι τὰς μὲν ἐκ θεῶν/ τύχας δοθείσας ἔστ' ἀναγκαῖον φέρειν, Aristarchus *TrGF* I 14 F 2 Sn.: ἔρωτος ὅστις μὴ πεπείραται βροτῶν,/ οὐκ οἶδ' ἀνάγκης θεσμόν, Moschion *Telephus TrGF* I 97 F2 (and Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 127f.). For the invincibility of necessity, cf. Empedocles fr. B 115 D.-K.: ἔστιν Ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,/ ἀίδιον, πλατέεσσι κατεσφρηγισμένον ὅρκοις, Gorg. *Hel.* 6 (and MacDowell 1982, *ad loc.*).

ἰᾶσθαι: the search for a cure for love is common in such contexts; cf. *Hipp.* 479, 509-512, 597, 698f. (and Goff 1990, 49-52, Parker 1983, 222, Ferrini 1978, 49-62), Theocr. *Id.* 2. 90-92 (and Gow 1952, *ad loc.*), 11. 1-2 (and Hunter 1999, *ad loc.*), Plin. *NH* 28. 256, Ov. *Her.* 5. 149, *Rem. Am.* 260, *Met.* 1. 523, Prop. 2. 4.7. The speaker asserts that there is no cure for god-sent passion and that it should thus be accepted as it is. Nonetheless, even divine diseases seem to be regarded as curable in *Bell.* fr. 292 Kn. (as in Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 18, Ar. *V.* 118, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*, Müller 2000_b, 95-97, Goossens 1962, 152-154, Parker 216-218).

Fr. 9:

This fragment is congruent with fr. 8. 3-6, as they both illustrate the invincible power of Aphrodite and thus the impasse, which Polydectes claims to have reached. These lines go a step further in developing the thought expressed in fr. 8. 3-6: Cypris does not yield when reprimanded and, if you press her hard, she engenders war ending to the devastation of households. The speaker is likely to have been Polydectes underlining all the havoc to be caused, if one does not reconcile with god-sent passion.[426] This fragment could have belonged to the same context as frr. 6-8, which focus on the father-son relationship, for the following reasons: (a) the objection to the *νουθέτησις* possibly made by Polydectes' interlocutor against amorous passion; such an admonition occurs in fr. 6, where the

[426] Cf. Duchemin (1968^2) 92, Webster (1967) 64, Aélion (1986) 159, n. 28.

speaker describes the king's desire as a disruptive force. The present fragment could be a response that the real destruction comes from repression. (b) The fact that the speaker warns his interlocutor about the potential desolation of Polydectes' household, if Cypris is repressed, could imply that the interlocutor would have had personal interest in preserving Polydectes' *oikos*, which may call for a member of the king's family as addressee of these lines; this possibility would fit the context of frr. 6-8 (cf. introductory note on fr. 6) and (c) the similarity in argumentation with fr. 8. 3-6.

Here, as often, Aphrodite's epithet 'Cypris' serves to connote sexual desire (schol. vet. *Il.* 5. 330 Erbse: *Κύπριν· οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγουσιν*); cf. fr. 18. 2, *Hec.* 825, *Tr.* 988, *Cretans* fr. 472e. 7 Kn. (and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*), also [A.] *Pr.* 650, S. *Tr.* 515 (and Easterling 1982, 137), fr. inc. 874 R., Ar. *Eccl.* 722.[427] The impetuosity and invincibility of Cypris is prominent in Euripidean plays treating illicit passions, as in *Sthen.* fr. 665 Kn. (possibly spoken by the nurse, cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): τοιαῦτ' ἀλύει·νουθετούμενος δ' ἔρως/ μᾶλλον πιέζει and *Hipp.* 443-446 (cf. Barrett 1964, *ad loc.*): Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸν ἦν πολλὴ ῥυῆι,/ ἢ τὸν μὲν εἴκονθ' ἡσυχῆι μετέρχεται,/ ὃν δ' ἂν περισσὸν καὶ φρονοῦνθ' εὕρηι μέγα,/ τοῦτον λαβοῦσα πῶς δοκεῖς καθύβρισεν.

The overwhelming and often destructive power of Aphrodite and Eros is a recurring theme in poetry; cf. *Il.* 4. 198f. (and Janko 1992, *ad loc.*), *h. Hom. Ven.* (cf. Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936[2], 352), Hes. *Th.* 120-122 (and West 1966, 195f.), Sappho frr. 1 and 16. 6-12 L.-P. (and McIntosh Snyder 1991, 3-13), A. *Supp.* 1001-1005, *Danaides* fr. 44 R., S. *Ant.* 781-800 (and Griffith 1999, 255-260), *Tr.* 441f. (cf. Easterling 1982 and Davies 1991$_a$, *ad loc.*), 497, fr. inc. 941 R. (and Pralon 1993, 125-131): ὦ παῖδες, ἥ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον,/ ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος./ ἔστιν μὲν Ἅιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βίος,/ ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μανιάς, ἔστι δ' ἵμερος, *Med.* 627-644, *Hipp.* 439-476, 525-564, 1268-1281 (cf. Citti 1990, 89-95 and Zeitlin 1985, 58-63, 107-109), *Tr.* 948-950, *Sthen.* fr. 661. 21-23 Kn., *Andromeda* fr. 136 Kn. (cf. Bubel 1991, 135f. and Klimek-Winter 1993, 249-251), *Auge* fr. 269 Kn., frr. inc. 898, 1076 Kn., Theocr. *Id.* 1. 100-102, *A.P.* 9. 221.[428]

1 νουθετουμένη: *LSJ* [9], s.v. *νουθετῶ*: 'to admonish, to rebuke'. Parallel cases of admonition towards gods are found in *HF* 855: μὴ σὺ

[427] On Aphrodite and sexuality, cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 419-433.
[428] Cf. Calame (1999) 141-150, Friedrich (1978) 97-100, Bittrich (2005) ch. 2.

νουθέτει τά θ' Ἥρας κἀμὰ μηχανήματα, *Ion* 436f.: νουθετητέος δέ μοι/ Φοῖβος, *Lyr. Alex.* fr. adesp. 8 (a) Powell: ἔρωτα νουθετοῦντες ἀγνοεῖθ' ὅτι/ πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον ἐλαίῳ θέλετε κ[οι]μίσαι. 'Nouthetetic' speeches addressed to gods occur in *Hipp.* 114-120 (cf. Barrett 1964, *ad loc.*), *HF* 339-347 (cf. Bond 1981, *ad loc.*), *Ion* 436-451, *Antiope* fr. 223. 11-14 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 103); cf. especially Dale (1969) 182 and Schadewaldt (1966) 132f. As in the present case Cypris is desire personified, the *nouthetēsis* is not merely addressed towards the goddess (cf. fr. 8. 3-6 presenting Polydectes' passion as a god-sent disease), but also towards the person overwhelmed by desire.

χαλᾷ: *LSJ*[9]: 'to loosen things drawn tightly together, to slacken one's hold'; it belongs to naval (A.R. 2. 1264, *A.P.* 5. 204.5, *EM* s.v. 'χάλα' 804, 49 Gaisford) and equestrian vocabulary (cf. *Ino* fr. 409 Kn., Ar. *Eccl.* 508, Pl. *Prot.* 338A 3), as well as to the language of archery (*h. Hom. Ap.* 6, *h. Hom.* 27.12). The poet seems to apply here the imagery of archery (cf. note on *ἐντείνειν*), in combination with the metaphorical sense of *χαλῶ* as 'to yield'; for the latter sense, cf. *Hec.* 403, *Ion* 637, *Telephus* fr. 716 Kn., *Erechtheus* fr. 362. 18 Kn., Ar. *V.* 727.

2 ἤν τ' αὖ βιάζῃ: 'if you press her (i.e. Aphrodite) hard', namely 'if you resist strongly/ try to prevent a lover from pursuing the object of love'; this verb is used more in the middle than in the active mood. Cf. *Alc.* 1116: ἄναξ, βιάζῃ μ' οὐ θέλοντα δρᾶν τάδε, *Med.* 339: τί δ' αὖ βιάζῃ κοὐκ ἀπαλλάσσῃ χερός; *Heracl.* 647, *Hipp.* 325, *Or.* 1623, *Chrys.* fr. 840 Kn.: γνώμην δ' ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται, fr. inc. 1076 Kn.: πάντων ἄριστον μὴ βιάζεσθαι θεούς.

ἐντείνειν: *LSJ*[9]: 'to stretch or strain tight', especially of any operation performed with straps or cords, metaphorically 'to intensify'; as *χαλάω*, it belongs to the vocabulary of archery (*Supp.* 745, 886, A. *Thrēssae* fr. 83 R., X. *Cyr.* 4. 1.3, Luc. *Scyth.* 2. 17) and horsemanship (*Il.* 5. 278, X. *Eq.* 8. 3), as well as to naval terminology (*Or.* 706). Archery is Aphrodite's attribute in Pindar (*P.* 4. 213), where she is portrayed as *πότνια ὀξυτάτων βελέων.* Cf. also Theoc. 11. 16 (and Gow 1952, *ad loc.*), *A.P.* 5. 98, 179, 189, 12. 50, Mosch. 2. 75. For Euripidean descriptions of Aphrodite as archer, cf. *Med.* 530-531, 633-635 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*): μήποτ', ὦ δέσποιν', ἐπ' ἐμοὶ χρυσέων τόξων ἀφείης/ ἰμέρωι χρίσασ' ἄφυκτον οἰστόν, *Hipp.* 530-532 (and Barrett 1964, 260): οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ' ἄστρων ὑπέρτερον βέλος/ οἷον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἵησιν ἐκ χερῶν/ Ἔρως ὁ Διὸς παῖς. For the presentation of Eros as archer, cf. *Tr.* 255, *IA* 548f. (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*); cf. Barlow (1971) 101 and Kurtz (1985) 256f., 291-293. Nevertheless, artistic

depictions of Eros as archer are quite rare before the fourth century (cf. *LIMC* s.v. 'Eros' figg. 332, 341). The pair *ἐντείνω-χαλάω* occurs in a context of crisis also in *Or.* 698-700: εἰ δ' ἡσύχως τις αὐτὸν ἐντείνοντι μὲν/ χαλῶν ὑπείκοι καιρὸν εὐλαβούμενος,/ ἴσως ἂν ἐκπνεύσειεν. For similar phrasing with reference to desire, cf. Pl. *R.* 329C 8-9: ἐπειδὰν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι παύσωνται κατατείνουσαι καὶ χαλάσωσιν.

3 τίκτει πόλεμον: the idea of one evil engendering another is common in tragedy; cf. *Hel.* 363-365: τὰ δ' ἐμὰ δῶρα / Κύπριδος ἔτεκε πολὺ μὲν αἷμα,/ πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, *Alcm. Ps.* fr. 79 Kn., *Hipp. Cal.* fr. 438 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 732 Kn., fr. inc. 1071 Kn.: λῦπαι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι τίκτουσιν νόσους, also A. *Ag.* 759, *Ch.* 382-385, 648-651 (and Garvie 1986, *ad loc.*), 806, S. *El.* 217-219: πολὺ γάρ τι κακῶν ὑπερεκτήσω,/ σᾷ δυσθύμῳ τίκτουσ' αἰεὶ/ ψυχᾷ πολέμους, *Iphigenia* fr. 308 R., *Tyro* fr. 663 R. Judging by *πόλεμος, ἀνάστασις δόμων* and the vocabulary of archery (*ἐντείνειν-χαλᾷ*), as well as *ἔχθρα μεγίστη* (fr. 6. 3) and *συμμάχους* (fr. 7. 2), both speakers are using the vocabulary of warfare in offering divergent ideas of what causes discord.

3f. ἀνάστασιν δόμων: 'the devastation of households'. Cf. *Andr.* 1249f.: ἀνάστατον γένος, *Tr.* 364: οἴκων Ἀτρέως ἀνάστασιν, S. *Ant.* 673f.: ἥδ' ἀναστάτους/ οἴκους τίθησιν, A. *Pers.* 105, *Ag.* 589 and for Aphrodite's power to desolate households, *Hipp.* 359-361: Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός,/ ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ,/ ἣ τήνδε κἀμὲ καὶ δόμους ἀπώλεσεν.

Fr. 10:

This statement obviously refers to Perseus, whose mind has been much trained by toil, despite his youth. The hero's tremendous exploit leading to his maturation must reflect a rite of passage [429] and, according to inscriptional evidence, Perseus was worshipped as patron of manhood initiation-rituals in late Archaic Mycenae.[430] Such a praise of Perseus' intelligence and courage could have been made by Danae, Dictys or the chorus-leader after the hero's *nostos* and possible narration of his deed (cf. T3 and T5 for Perseus' encounter with Danae and Dictys upon his return to

[429] Cf. Dillon (1989) 97-112.
[430] Cf. Jameson (1990) 213-223 and Burkert (1984) 82.

Seriphos).[431] Euripides was fascinated by the energy and assertiveness of youth; cf. *Supp.* 442-449 (and Collard 1975$_a$, 229f.), *IT* 122 (and Cropp 2000, *ad loc.*) *Crēssae* fr. 461 Kn., *Archelaus* fr. 237 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*), fr. inc. 1052 Kn. and Dover (1974) 105, Strauss (1993) 113f.

οὐκ ἀγύμναστος: *ἀγύμναστος* ('untrained') occurs in tragedy mostly in litotes and at the same position in the trimeter; cf. Kannicht (1969) on *Hel.* 533: οὐδ' ἀγύμναστον πλάνοις. Apart from hard physical exercise (as in the much-disputed phrase in *Supp.* 903: τῶν τ' ἀγυμνάστων σφαγεύς, cf. Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*), *οὐκ ἀγύμναστος* also connotes intellectual training, as here and in *Ba.* 491: ὡς θρασὺς ὁ βάκχος κοὐκ ἀγύμναστος λόγων, in the *Peirithous* by Euripides or Critias *TrGF* I 43 F10 (and Sutton 1987, 57): {ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν} οὐκ ἀγυμνάστῳ φρενί / ἔρριψεν ὅστις τόνδ' ἐκαίνισεν λόγον,/ ὡς τοῖσιν εὖ φρονοῦσι συμμαχεῖ τύχη. Cf. also S. *Tr.* 1083 (*ἀγύμναστος* as 'unharassed'): οὐδ' ἀγύμναστόν μ' ἐὰν/ ἔοικεν ἡ τάλαινα διάβορος νόσος.

φρένας: in tragedy, *φρένες* are mainly associated with intellectual activity, as 'the seat of mental faculties, perception, thought' (*LSJ* ^{9}): cf. *Med.* 316, *Hipp.* 612, 685, 1337, *Andr.* 361, 365, 482, *Hec.* 746, *Tr.* 6, 1158, *Hel.* 160, *Ba.* 427 and Sullivan (2000) 11-16. Perseus is here presented as an exception to the common view that *φρένες* are superior in old age (for this view, cf. *Hipp.* 969, *Peleus* fr. 619 Kn. and Sullivan 2000, 10f.). Judging by the acute mental capacities, as well as the tremendous courage demanded for Perseus' exploit, the above meaning must here intermingle with the sense of *φρένες* as 'heart, the seat of courage' (cf. *Med.* 856-859: πόθεν θράσος ἢ φρενὸς ἢ/ χειρὶ τέκνων σέθεν/ καρδίαι τε λήψηι/ δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν; also *Il.* 3. 45, 17. 499, *Od.* 1. 89, Hes. *Th.* 688, A. *Th.* 671, *Ag.* 1302, *Ch.* 596, S. *Ai.* 46).

[431] The suggestion made by Jouan and van Looy (2000, 81) and Stoessl (1958, 161) that this line could belong to the context of Dictys' consolation to Danae seems to be refuted by the fact that according to the mythical evidence, Perseus was untested before being sent to decapitate the Gorgon, which contradicts *οὐκ ἀγύμναστος*.

FRAGMENTA SEDIS MAGIS INCERTAE

Fr. 11:

The female speaker of this fragment is obviously Danae addressing Dictys (for his old age, cf. T3 and fr. 3), who rouses her for some unknown reason. The ancient scholiast on S. *Ai.* 787 paralleled these lines to Tecmessa's reaction to the chorus-leader's appeal to her to listen to the news brought by the messenger. Apart from the obvious stylistic resemblance between the two passages, it is worth asking whether there may have been any further similarity, in terms of dramatic situation. Danae uses a verb (*ὀρθοῖς*), which suggests that she has been seated or prostrate. Moreover, Euripides' *λελησμένην* goes further than Sophocles' *πεπαυμένην* ; Danae has forgotten her suffering, which is a surprising notion. Sleep is linked to oblivion (Λήθη) as relieving from distress in *HF* 1042-1044 (Καδμεῖοι γέροντες, οὐ σῖγα σῦ/ γα τὸν ὕπνωι παρειμένον ἐάσετ' ἐκ/ λαθέσθαι κακῶν;) and *Or.* 211-214 (cf. Willink 1986, 120f.: ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον, ἐπίκουρον νόσου,/ ὡς ἡδύ μοι προσῆλθες ἐν δέοντί τε./ ὦ πότνια Λήθη τῶν κακῶν, ὡς εἶ σοφὴ/ καὶ τοῖσι δυστυχοῦσιν εὐκταία θεός).[432] Danae may have thus been sleeping, which could explain why she has forgotten her agony.[433]

Nevertheless, unlike Tecmessa in the *Aias* (who is summoned from the stage-building by the chorus), Danae is presumably not as free to move in the acting area, if the stage-building represents Polydectes' palace (cf. Setting). Hence, her being asleep on stage (at the altar) at a critical moment in the play seems implausible, therefore, this line is less likely to belong to the climactic scene of Perseus' return, as widely suggested;[434] instead, it may be more plausibly located at the beginning, perhaps in the prologue. In this case, Dictys, as Electra in the *Orestes*, might have delivered the prologue-speech, while Danae was sleeping (cf. note on fr. 1). He could have then roused her for some important reason, to judge from parallel cases in *Heracl.* 633-636 and *Hec.* 501f., where a character

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[432] In S. *Tr.* 977-980, 1005 (cf. Easterling 1982, *ad loc.*) and *Ph.* 827-838, 843-867, 877f. (cf. Ussher 1990, 138f., Webster 1970, 119-121) sleep is described as alleviating physical pain.

[433] I owe this idea to Professor C. Carey.

[434] So Webster (1967) 64, Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82, Aélion (1986) 159f., n. 30.

stirs another when bringing significant news. Dictys, as in the above mentioned cases and as the chorus-leader in the *Aias*, may want Danae to listen to news (about Perseus? cf. opening note on fr. 2 for the possibility that Polydectes might have spread false rumours of Perseus' death) or may alternatively be rousing her at the entry of another character (Polydectes?).

1 τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ: Ms L of Sophocles (belonging to the Laurentian class λ), which served almost exclusively as the basis for Papageorgius' edition of the scholia on Sophocles, gives the reading τί μ' [[ὦ]] ἄρτι πημάτων λελησμένην/ ὀρθοῖς; while G (from the Roman class ρ) reads τί μ', ὦ γεραιέ, πημάτων πεπαυμένην/ ὀρθοῖς; The remaining ὦ in L, which was erased by the scribe, reveals the existence of two different readings: ὦ γεραιέ and ἄρτι (cf. Christodoulou 1977, 86f., n. 29). There is considerable evidence, as Turyn observed (1952, 120), that the primary archetype (ω) of the plays and ancient scholia of Sophocles, from which the λ and ρ families derived, abounded in double readings —the one exhibited in the text and the other interlinear or marginal—and this phenomenon is best reflected in L, as in this case. Hence, whenever the decision as to the choice of a reading in ρ went in a different direction from that in λ, a divergence between the two classes would have occurred; cf. Turyn (1952) 121. The reading *ἄρτι*, which leaves the verse metrically incomplete, seems to have been adopted by the scribe of L, in view of its correspondence with *ἀρτίως* in S. *Ai.* 787; cf. Christodoulou (1977) 87, n. 29. On the other hand, the *ὦ γεραιέ* of G, which aptly completes the trimeter, must have been the original reading, being certainly much more informative than *ἄρτι* and corresponding to the image of Dictys as *γεραιός*, as attested in T3 and fr. 3. Manuscript G is generally admitted to emend L in certain cases and often provides older readings; cf. De Marco (1936) 15f. and Turyn (1952) 107-109.

πημάτων λελησμένην: *λελησμένην* is provided by L, while G reads *πεπαυμένην*, which is the reading adopted by Christodoulou (1977, 180). As in the case of *ἄρτι* above, it seems quite likely that *πεπαυμένην* sneaked into the scholium in view of its correspondence to *πεπαυμένην* in *Ai.* 787, which makes L's *λελησμένην* a more plausible reading, on the principle *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*. For *λανθάνομαι* + gen. in Euripides as expressive of sufferings, which one is trying to forget, cf. *Alc.* 198: τοσοῦτον ἄλγος, οὔποθ' οὗ λελήσεται, *Supp.* 86: θανοῦσα τῶνδ' ἀλγέων λαθοίμαν, *Ion* 361: ἆ, μή μ' ἐπ' οἶκτον ἔξαγ' οὗ 'λελήσμεθα, *Tr.* 606: ὁ θανὼν δ' ἐπιλάθεται ἀλγέων. This line seems to provide a fine example of how the λ and ρ traditions of the Sophoclean scholia complement each other, as Turyn pointed out (1952, 121).

2 ὀρθοῖς: 'to raise up, to rise from one's seat'. Danae's reluctance to raise herself up seems to be indicative of her psychological weariness and frustration. Similarly, physical and psychological exhaustion prevent one from standing upright in *Heracl.* 635f.: Θε. ἔπαιρέ νυν σεαυτόν, ὄρθωσον κάρα./ Ιο. γέροντές ἐσμεν κοὐδαμῶς ἐρρώμεθα, *Andr.* 1076-1078: Χο. ἃ ἃ, τί δράσεις, ὦ γεραιέ; μὴ πέσῃς·/ ἔπαιρε σαυτόν. Πη. οὐδέν εἰμ'· ἀπωλόμην./ φρούδη μὲν αὐδή, φροῦδα δ' ἄρθρα μου κάτω, *Hec.* 501f.: ἔα· τίς οὗτος σῶμα τοὐμὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ/ κεῖσθαι; τί κινεῖς μ', ὅστις εἶ, λυπουμένην; *Tr.* 505 (cf. Barlow 1986, 180f.): τί δῆτά μ' ὀρθοῦτ'; ἐλπίδων ποίων ὕπο; also in S. *Ph.* 820 (where the hero is overpowered by his strong physical pain, cf. Usher 1990, *ad loc.*): τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τόδ' οὐκέτ' ὀρθοῦσθαί μ' ἐᾷ.

Fr. 12:

This fragment illustrates parental affection towards their offspring, which is shared by all living creatures. These lines are quoted by Stobaeus in his chapter *Ὁποίους χρὴ εἶναι τοὺς πατέρας* (Stob. 4. 26) together with frr. 6, 7 and 8, which focus on the theme of father-son relationship (cf. notes *ad loc.*). Though Stobaeus' anthology is regarded as modeled up to a certain extent on earlier gnomic compilations, the earliest of which date as early as the third century BC,[435] one cannot exclude the possibility that some of the titles of his sections were given by Stobaeus himself around the fifth century AD, when he would not probably have had direct access to plays outside the 'selection'.[436] Hence, Stobaeus' title as such cannot be safely regarded as an authority for locating this fragment in the context of the discussion on the father-son relationship. If these lines did belong to this scene, the emphasis on parental affection (cf. l. 3: τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν), occurring also in fr. 7. 2 (πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα), could perhaps serve to remind Polydectes of the strong precedence, which a father should give his children over his amorous passion.

On the other hand, this fragment may well be an expression of Danae's love for Perseus. The verb *τίκτω* tends to occur more frequently with reference to females than males, while regarding animals, it is used only for the female gender (cf. *LSJ*[9] and *Il.* 16. 150, 20. 225, *Od.* 4. 86,

[435] Cf. Page (1934) 33.
[436] Cf. Hense (1916) 2557-2561.

Hes. *Op.* 591). The simile between animals and humans of the same gender as regards birth-giving may thus be more suitable, which would tell in favour of a reference to Danae rather than Polydectes. The location of these lines in a specific scene is difficult, since Danae's affection for her son could have been expressed anytime during the play. This fragment has been widely assumed to belong to the consolation-scene (cf. fr. 2) [437] and such a possibility would correspond to parallel Euripidean passages expressive of parental affection towards children, when the latter are subject to danger; cf. *Andr.* 418f., *HF* 633-636, *Ph.* 965f. (and Mastronarde 1994, *ad loc.*), *IA* 1256 and opening note on *Danae* fr. 13.

1 κοινὸς ἀνθρώποις νόμος: universal laws are the unwritten laws of nature, as distinguished from civic laws; the sophistic *physis-nomos* antithesis is lurking here. These major sanctions of universal validity mainly enjoin reverence towards gods (including the kind treatment of suppliants and burial of the dead) and respect for kinship bonds. For the definition of unwritten laws, cf. Antiphon fr. 44a, col. ii D.-K., *Anon. Iambl.* 7. 15, Pl. *Lg.* 793A, *Prt.* 337D, Arist. *Rh.* 1368B 7- 10, 1373B 4-1375B 8, X. *Mem.* 4. 4.19. In tragedy unwritten laws are often regarded as divine ordinances, particularly in S. *Ant.* 450-455 (cf. Griffith 1999, 199-202), E. *Supp.* 19, A. *Supp.* 707, S. *Ai.* 1343, *OT* 863-872. Cf. additionally, *Med.* 812f. (and Mastronarde 2002, 302): σέ τ' ὠφελεῖν θέλουσα καὶ νόμοις βροτῶν/ ξυλλαμβάνουσα δρᾶν σ' ἀπεννέπω τάδε (with reference to Medea's intention to kill her children), *Hipp.* 91, *Supp.* 378 (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc.*): νόμους βροτῶν μὴ μιαίνειν, 526f.: θάψαι δικαιῶ, τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον/ σώιζων, *Cyc.* 299f. (and Ussher 1978, 95): νόμος δὲ θνητοῖς, εἰ λόγους ἀποστρέφηι,/ ἱκέτας δέχεσθαι ποντίους ἐφθαρμένους, *Or.* 495 (with reference to the penalty which should have been imposed on Clytaemestra for murdering her husband), fr. inc. 853 Kn., also Th. 2. 37.3, Empedocles fr. 135 D.-K., Lys. i 2 (and Carey 1989, *ad loc.*), xxxi 11, D. xviii 275 (and Yunis 2001, *ad loc.*), xxi 50, xxiii 61, Isoc. xix 50, Is. ii 24. Cf. Guthrie (1962-1981) III 117-131, Ostwald (1973) 70-104, Untersteiner (1954) 280-283. Parental bonds with children are regarded as a law of universal validity also in [D.] xliii 22.

2: West (1983, 73) deleted this line as an interpolation, in view of the superfluous reference to the gods, which weakens the analogy between men and beasts. Moreover, it seems to exist only for the sake of its first

[437] Cf. Webster (1967) 63, Aélion (1986) 159, Hartung (1843-1844) I 367, Wecklein (1888) 113f.

words (the rest is mere padding), with which the interpolator claims to be completing the sense of the previous line; cf. *loc. cit.*

3 θηρσίν τε πᾶσι: parental love for children is presented in universal dimensions as a common feature of all living creatures. The analogy between humans and animals occurs frequently in literature; cf. *Supp.* 267 (and Collard 1975$_a$, 178): ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν θὴρ μὲν πέτραν,/ δοῦλος δὲ βωμοὺς θεῶν, *Mel. S.* fr. 484. 3-6 Kn. (the common origin of humans and animals, as supported by Diogenes of Apollonia fr. B 4 D.-K., cf. Nestle 1901, 173f. and van Looy 1964, 225): ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,/ τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,/ δένδρη, πετεινά, θῆρας οὕς θ' ἅλμη τρέφει/ γένος τε θνητῶν, *Chrys.* fr. 839. 3-5 Kn.: ἣ δ' ὑγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίας/ παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς,/ τίκτει βοτάνην φῦλά τε θηρῶν, A. *Supp.* 999f. (cf. Johansen and Whittle 1980, *ad loc.*), *Eum.* 70, S. fr. inc. 941. 12 R. (gods and all living creatures are subject to the power of Aphrodite), [D.] xxv 65f.: τὸν τῆς φύσεως διασῴζει νόμον, ὃς καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ θηρίοις εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἅπασιν ὥρισται, στέργειν τοὺς γονέας, Pl. *Gorg.* 483D: δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα πολλαχοῦ ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς γένεσιν, ὅτι οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον κέκριται, τὸν κρείττω τοῦ ἥττονος ἄρχειν καὶ πλέον ἔχειν. Hesiod, on the other hand, uses beasts as a source of contrast (cf. note on l. 4).

τέκν' ἃ τίκτουσιν φιλεῖν: the idea that human race is child-loving recurs in *Andr.* 418f.: πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν/ ψυχὴ τέκνα, *HF* 633-6 (cf. Bond 1981 and Barlow 1996, *ad loc.*): πάντα τἀνθρώπων ἴσα·/ φιλοῦσι παῖδας οἵ τ' ἀμείνονες βροτῶν/ οἵ τ' οὐδὲν ὄντες· χρήμασιν δὲ διάφοροι·/ ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' οὔ· πᾶν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος, *Ph.* 965f.: πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φιλότεκνος βίος, *IA* 917f. (and Stockert 1992, *ad loc.*), *Alcmene* fr. 103 Kn., *Protesilaus* fr. 652 Kn., *Meleagros* fr. 518 Kn., *Danae* frr. 2, 13, Lys. iv 20, D. xxviii 20, [D.] xl 8, Is. vii 14, Arist. *Gen. An.* 753A 8 and Golden (1990) 90-92. Cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 493A-497E (cited in *TrGF* V,1, *ad loc.*). On the major importance of children for the preservation of the *oikos*, cf. notes on frr. 2. 6 and 6. 1-2.

4: For the different mode of life of humans and beasts, cf. especially Hes. *Op.* 276-280 (and West 1978, *ad loc.*) stressing the animals' lack of *dikē*. The reference to the otherwise different rules in the lives of men and beasts serves to emphasize the authority of the appeal to the universal law of parental affection. For the use of hyperbole designed to bring out the uniqueness of the speaker's case, cf. Lys. i 2: περὶ τούτου γὰρ μόνου τοῦ ἀδικήματος καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡ αὐτὴ

τιμωρία τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις πρὸς τοὺς τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένους ἀποδέδοται, ὥστε τὸν χείριστον τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν τῷ βελτίστῳ, Lys. x 3, xiv 7, xxx 5, xxxi 33, Lycurg. i, D. xxi 195 and Carey (1989) 154.

Fr. 13:

This line expressing confidence in the power of justice could have been uttered by Dictys encouraging Danae before Perseus' return (with reference to the just cause defended by the suppliants)[438] or after the hero's *nostos* by Perseus himself or Dictys as reassurance that Perseus' planned vengeance on Polydectes will turn out well (in this light, it could allude to divine retribution); cf. below, notes on *θάρσει* and *τὸ δίκαιον*. Though the possibility of assigning this fragment to Danae addressing Dictys at a critical moment in the play (e.g. during their confrontation or possible *agōn* with Polydectes? cf. opening notes on frr. 3, 4, 5) cannot be ruled out, cases of men encouraging women, who are generally regarded as weaker, are significantly more frequent. cf. *Alc.* 326, *Med.* 926, 1015, *Heracl.* 654, *Hipp.* 860, *Andr.* 993, *Ph.* 117, A. *Supp.* 732, 740, S. *El.* 1435, *OT* 1062. The opposite occurs rarely, as in *Hec.* 345, 875, *Supp.* 564. Moreover, fr. 2 provides another instance, where Danae is consoled and supported by Dictys. If this line was located before Perseus' return, it may have contributed to a series of *peripeteiai*: an expression of confidence in justice could have been seemingly refuted by Polydectes' success, only to be vindicated in the end by Perseus' arrival.

It has been suggested that Choricius of Gaza alludes to this line in *Or.* xxxv 71 (ἥκιστα μὲν πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐθέλει χωρεῖν καὶ πολλοῖς ἀμέλει νίκας ἀδίκους φιλοτιμεῖται. θῶμεν δὲ ὅμως —καλὸν γὰρ οὕτω φρονεῖν— τὸ δίκαιον κρατεῖν πανταχοῦ).[439] However, there is no reference to Euripides in particular, while it is worth taking into account that the belief in the power of justice seems to have been a *topos* in literature (cf. for instance, A. *Eum.* 619, Pl. *Rp.* 540E and Menander's phrasing in *Epitr.* 232f., which is almost identical to that of Choricius: ἐν παντὶ δεῖ/ καιρῷι τὸ δίκαιον ἐπικρατεῖν ἁπανταχοῦ). It is thus quite unsafe to assume that Choricius alludes to this particular fragment.

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[438] So Jouan and van Looy (2000) 81, Webster (1967) 63, Stoessl (1958) 161, Aélion (1986) 159, n. 29, Hartung (1843-1844) I 368.

[439] Cf. Richtsteig and Förster (1929) 410. 3, Tuillier (1968) 115 and n. 3, *TrGF* V,1 387.

θάρσει: it may either bear the sense of 'take heart/ show courage' and thus be used for encouragement, if located before Perseus' return (cf. similarly *Hipp.* 203, *Andr.* 993, *El.* 1319, S. *El.* 173), or the nuance of 'fear not/ be confident!', which could have been uttered for the reassurance of the addressee as to the progress of Perseus' revenge plan (cf. *Alc.* 326, *Med.* 926, 1015, *Heracl.* 654 and Allan 2001, *ad loc.*, *Hipp.* 860, *Hec.* 345 and Collard 1991, *ad loc.*, 875, *Supp.* 564, *HF* 1071, *IT* 1075, *Ph.* 117, 845, S. *Ph.* 667, *OC* 305).

τό τοι δίκαιον: here in the place of *δικαιοσύνη* 'justice'. The speaker is confident that the just cause defended by the sympathetic party (namely Danae and Dictys, as well as Perseus, if the line was uttered after his return) will prevail. Cf. similarly *Supp.* 564f. (and Collard 1975$_a$, 256): θάρσει· τὸ γάρ τοι τῆς Δίκης σώιζων φάος/ πολλοὺς ὑπεκφύγοις ἂν ἀνθρώπων ψόγους, *El.* 1351, *IA* 1034f., *Mel. S.* fr. 486 Kn., *Palamedes* fr. 584 Kn.: εἷς τοι δίκαιος μυρίων οὐκ ἐνδίκων/ κρατεῖ τὸ θεῖον τὴν δίκην τε συλλαβών, A. *Supp.* 732f.: θάρσει· χρόνῳ τοι κυρία τ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ/ θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην, *TrGF* II fr. adesp. 500 Kn.-Sn. For justice as a basic co-operative virtue in late fifth century, cf. especially note on fr. 14. 2. If this line was uttered at the point where Perseus exits to take vengeance on Polydectes, *τὸ δίκαιον* would presumably connote *Δίκη* as the retribution of divine justice (cf. T7. 4). This concept is prominent in Aeschylus (cf. *Ag.* 810-817, 911 and Fraenkel 1950, *ad loc.*, 1611, *Ch.* 306-314, 935 and Garvie 1986, 305, *Th.* 662 and Hutchinson 1985, *ad loc.*, cf. also Lloyd-Jones 1971, 85-93, Dodds 1960$_a$, 25-29), in Sophocles' *Electra* (cf. Blundell 1989, 150-157, 178-183) and occurs as personified in S. *OT* 274, *Ant.* 538, *OC* 1382 (and Kamerbeek 1984, 191), *Ajax Locrus* fr. 12 R. (and Pearson 1917, *ad loc.*); cf. Kitto (1958) 47-54. Euripidean characters often appeal to divine justice; cf. *Med.* 764 (and Mastronarde 2002, *ad loc.*), 1390, *Heracl.* 33, 104, *Hec.* 1029-1031 (and Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*), *Supp.* 301f.,1146, *HF* 732f., 737-741, 755-759, 772f., 809-814, *El.* 958, *Hel.* 1002, *Or.* 1242 (and Willink 1986, *ad loc.*), *Ba.* 992, *Antigone* fr. 223 Kn. and Lloyd-Jones (1971) 151-153. For the use of *τοι* in gnomic utterances, cf. note on fr. 5.

ἰσχύει μέγα: Cf. similarly *Andr.* 332: τοῦτο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα, 1109: μῦθος ἰσχύων μέγα, *Antiope* fr. 200 Kn. (and Kambitsis 1972, 59), *Archelaus* fr. 249 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*): κεῖνο δ' ἰσχύει μέγα and for this usage of *μέγας*, Bissinger (1966) I 253. For similar phrasing, cf. *Hel.* 1358, *Bell.* fr. 302 Kn., A. *Ag.* 938, *Eum.* 950, [A.] *Pr.* 1013, S. *Ai.* 502, *OC* 734.

Fr. 14:

These lines reject noble descent as the sole criterion of *eugeneia,* if not combined with moral nobility. The speaker—evidently a righteous character— observes the failure of traditional criteria to evaluate nobility, probably in view of Polydectes' moral decadence despite his royal status, as implicitly opposed to Dictys' moral virtue and humble occupation as a fisherman. I agree with Jouan-van Looy and Hartung that Perseus could be a plausible speaker [440] and in this light, I would draw a parallel to Orestes' rejection of the traditional qualities of *aretē* in praise of the Farmer's righteousness in *El.* 367-385. Alternatively, these lines may have been Dictys' rejoinder to a likely disparagement of his status by Polydectes [441] in the context of their confrontation (cf. fr. 3) or possible *agōn* (for the reference to status, cf. opening note on fr. 4). Danae cannot be excluded, though the thematic relation of this fragment to fr. 15 spoken by a male character (cf. introductory note *ad loc.*) may weaken this possibility.

2-4: The sophistic *physis-nomos* controversy is lurking in this evaluation of nobility; only just people are noble *φύσει* (in view of their moral inherent qualities, which they display in everyday conduct), while the unjust cannot be *eugeneis*, even if their descent is noble *νόμωι* (in accordance with social conventions). Justice is thus regarded as an essential element of *eugeneia* and *aretē;* cf. Adkins (1960) 176-189. For the *physis-nomos* antithesis and its social implications, cf. especially Lycophron the Sophist fr. 4 D.-K. (papyrus-finds proved that Antiphon's famous fr. 44b D.-K. is refuting the distinction between Greeks and foreigners and not that of lineage, cf. Pendrick 2002, 351-356) and Guthrie (1962-1981) III 153-155. Euripides often picks up this issue with reference to social discriminations (cf. below, note on *ἐσθλός*), as in *Alexandros* fr. 61b Kn. (cf. Scodel 1980, 87-89 and Luria 1929, 492-495) and particularly in terms of the disadvantaged position of illegitimate children (*Andr.* 636-638, *Andromeda* fr. 141 Kn. and Klimek-Winter 1993, 274, *Antigone* fr. 168 Kn., *Eurystheus Satyricus* fr. 377 Kn.) and slaves (*Ion* 854-856, *Hel.* 728-731 and Kannicht 1969, 208, *Phrixus* fr. 831 Kn. and van Looy 1964, *ad loc.*). Cf. Kerferd (1981) 154-156, Daitz (1971) 219 and n. 1, 224-226, Assael (2001) 206-209, Bergson (1971) 86, Baldry (1965) 37, 44, Egli (2003) 211-214, Heinimann (1945) 108f. Cf. also S. *Aleadae* fr. 87 R. (and Pearson 1917, *ad loc.*), *Tereus* fr. 591 R., Men. *Samia* 140-142 (and

[440] Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82, Hartung (1843-1844) I 370.
[441] Cf. Webster (1967) 63f., Stoessl (1958) 162, *TrGF* V,1 384.

Lamagna 1998, 231, Gomme and Sandbach 1973, 559f.), fr. adesp. 1027 K.-A., Arist. *Pol.* 1253B 21-22.

2 **ἐσθλός:** in Euripides this epithet may commend either the traditional, competitive qualities (noble birth, prosperity and virtue in war, cf. Adkins 1972, 58-98, Sullivan 1995, 123-173) or the co-operative excellences (the quiet moral behaviour, particularly justice and self-control, cf. Adkins 1960, 195), which flourished in later fifth century. For the wide range of its usage, cf. note on fr. 4. 2. The sense of *ἐσθλός* in our fragment must comprise the notion of justice, being opposed to the *οὐ δίκαιος* of the next line. The praise of quiet moral behaviour as a prerequisite for *eugeneia* and *aretē* recurs in *El.* 380-385 (cf. Denniston 1939, 93-96, Egli 2003, 225-229, Goldhill 1986, 165-168): οὗτος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὔτ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέγας/ οὔτ' αὖ δοκήσει δωμάτων ὠγκωμένος,/ ἐν τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ὤν, ἄριστος ηὑρέθη./ οὐ μὴ ἀφρονήσεθ', οἳ κενῶν δοξασμάτων/ πλήρεις πλανᾶσθε, τῆι δ' ὁμιλίαι βροτῶν/ κρινεῖτε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν τοὺς εὐγενεῖς; *Mel. D.* fr. 495. 40-43 Kn. (cf. van Looy 1964 and Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): ἐγὼ μὲν <οὖν> οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ σκοπεῖν χρεὼν/ τὴν εὐγένειαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρείους φύσιν/ καὶ τοὺς δικαίους τῶν κενῶν δοξασμάτων,/ κἂν ὦσι δούλων, εὐγενεστέρους λέγω. Cf. also Thgn 1. 147f. (and van Groningen 1966, 57-59, Garzya 1958, 234, Ferguson 1958, 42): ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνηι συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή 'στι,/ πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών, Astydamas *TrGF* I 60 F8 (and Xanthakis-Karamanos 1980, 147-149): γένους δ' ἔπαινός ἐστιν ἀσφαλέστατος/ κατ' ἄνδρ' ἐπαινεῖν, ὅστις ἂν δίκαιος ᾖ/ τρόπους τ' ἄριστος· τοῦτον εὐγενῆ καλεῖν.

Agathos in democratic Athens is the citizen who makes himself useful to the *polis* thanks to his co-operative excellences, the development of which was mainly urged by democratic institutions; cf. *Heracl.* 1-5 (and Allan 2001, 133, Wilkins 1993, 46): ὁ μὲν δίκαιος τοῖς πέλας πέφυκ' ἀνήρ,/ ὁ δ' ἐς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀνειμένον/ πόλει τ' ἄχρηστος καὶ συναλλάσσειν βαρύς,/ αὑτῶι δ' ἄριστος, S. *Ant.* 661f., Eupolis *Dēmoi* fr. 129 K.-A. (and Storey 2003, *ad loc.*), Th. 2. 37.1, 2. 40.2, 6. 9.2, 6. 14, D. iv 7, Hyp. ii 10 and Dover (1974) 296-298, Fouchard (1997) 194-199, Adkins (1972) 115ff., Bryant (1996) 151-168, 205, Humphreys (1978) 146, Pearson (1962) 181f. In this light, Euripides frequently praises the middle class for supporting civic order; cf. *Supp.* 244f. (and Collard 1975$_a$, *ad loc)*: τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἡ 'ν μέσωι σώιζει πόλεις,/ κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὅντιν' ἂν τάξηι πόλις, *El.* 382, *Or.* 920-922, also Phocyl. fr. 12, Arist. *Pol.* 1295B 1- 1296B 12, Men. *Sic.* 182 (the line borrowed from *Or.* 920, cf. Gomme and Sandbach 1973, *ad loc.*) and Di Benedetto (1971)

207-209, Basta Donzelli (1978) 242f., Goossens (1962) 429-433. It should be noted, however, that the traditional competitive qualities continued to be respected and exist alongside co-operative values throughout the fifth century; cf. *Hipp.* 409-412, *Andr.* 766-776, adhering to traditional usages and Adkins (1960) 156-168, 189, 191f., n. 12 and 13.

3f.: The assumption that one could have a nobler father than Zeus is clearly an adynaton, aiming to stress the insignificance of one's noble descent in the absence of moral righteousness. The figure of hyperbole is a 'decens veri superiectio' (Quint. *Inst.* 8. 6. 67, cf. also Dem. *Eloc.* 124f.), creating an impressive type of poetical *evidentia*; cf. Lausberg (1998) 410f., Manzo (1988) 175-178, Canter (1930) 32-41.

4 δυσγενής: the epithet usually occurs in its social sense, describing 'a person of low birth'; cf. *Heracl.* 303, *Ion* 1477, *IA* 446, *Mel. D.* fr. 495. 21 Kn., *Sthen.* fr. 661. 3 Kn., S. *OT* 1079. Here, nonetheless, the traditional equation of lineage with every sort of excellence is overturned; hence, the unjust person lacks (moral) nobility (here δυσγενής as opposed to εὐγενής 'noble-minded'), even if his lineage is noble. Cf. similarly *HF* 663 (where *δυσγένεια* 'moral turpitude', according to Bond's interpretation, is contrasted to *aretē* and Gregory 1991, 123f.), *El.* 362f. (cf. Cropp 1988, 102): καὶ γὰρ εἰ πένης ἔφυν,/ οὔτοι τό γ' ἦθος δυσγενὲς παρέξομαι. Cf. also *IA* 1376 for *δυσγενής* as opposed to *εὐκλεής*. In our fragment, the antithesis between competitive and co-operative qualities is reinforced with sound-effect (*εὐγένεια-δυσγενής*).

Fr. 15:

This fragment is an aphorism of bad company and wealth, which was regarded as having the power to corrupt and mislead from a moral (just and self-controlled [442]) mode of life, by engendering pride and *hybris*.[443] Possessions and company are here presented as defining one's conduct and, from this point of view, these lines could be related and perhaps belong to the same context as fr. 14, which defines moral behaviour as a prerequisite for *eugeneia*.[444] A ready parallel is offered in *El.* 367-390, where Orestes dismisses parentage and wealth as features of true nobility, underlining that one's *eugeneia* should be judged by one's *ἦθος*

[442] Cf. Adkins (1960) 195, North (1966_a) 72f.
[443] Cf. Dover (1974) 110f.
[444] Hartung (1843-1844, I 370f.) located frr. 14 and 15 in the same context.

('character', 'behaviour') and *ὁμιλία* ('the company one keeps'). The male speaker of our fragment may be Perseus,[445] to whom the thematically related fr. 14 could be assigned; this possibility would create an antecedent to Orestes' reflection. Dictys is also a likely candidate rejecting wealth and evil-minded associates as responsible for one's immoral mode of life and conceivably that led by Polydectes.[446] Cf. also opening note on fr. 16.

1 χρημάτων νικωμένῳ: 'to be overcome by wealth'. For similar phrasing expressing defeat from a passion/ disaster, cf. *Cyc.* 454: Βακχίου νικώμενος, *Med.* 1077: νικῶμαι κακοῖς, *Hipp.* 458: στέργουσι δ', οἶμαι, ξυμφορᾶι νικώμενοι, *Bell.* fr. 295 Kn., A. *Supp.* 1005: ἱμέρου νικώμενος, *Ag.* 342, S. *El.* 1272. The notion of servitude to wealth recurs in *Hec.* 865 (cf. Gregory 1999, *ad loc.*): χρημάτων δοῦλός ἐστιν, *Ph.* 395: ἐς τὸ κέρδος παρὰ φύσιν δουλευτέον. In Th. 2. 60.6, *χρήμασι νικωμένου* is used to describe corruption in politics. Cf. also note on *Danae* fr. 10. 1.

2 κακῷ γενέσθαι: the opposition between wealth and justice occurs in literature from the sixth century onwards, in the context of the huge economic expansion and monetization of society (cf. Bryant 1996, 99-119 and for the monetization of politics, Schaps 2004, 124-137). By that era, money starts to be compared with other basic features of *aretē*, such as lineage, virtue and justice; cf. Thgn. 1. 10, 50, 86, 199-201, 145f., 225, 335, Sappho fr. 148 L.-P., Sol. frr. 4. 5-10, 15 W. and Seaford (2004) 158-162, Adkins (1972) 37-44. For the comparison of wealth to lineage, cf. note on *Danae* fr. 9. 1-5. In the present case, wealth is regarded as rendering one *kakos* in a moral sense, by feeding individualism, greed and injustice, thereby inhibiting the development of a quiet moral behaviour, which relies on *sōphrosynē*, self-control and justice. Moreover, affluence is considered to entail *koros* ('excess') and *tryphē* ('love of luxury') bringing forth *hybris*. The personalized idea of Poverty declares in Ar. *Pl.* 563f. (cf. Sommerstein 2001, *ad loc.*): περὶ σωφροσύνης ἤδη τοίνυν περανῶ σφῷν κἀναδιδάξω/ ὅτι κοσμιότης οἰκεῖ μετ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ Πλούτου δ' ἐστὶν ὑβρίζειν. Cf. also Arist. *Rh.* 1383A 1-3, D. xxi 98, 205 (and MacDowell 1990, 19), xlv 37, li 1, X. *Cyr.* 8. 4. 14 and Fisher (1992) 19-21, 102f., MacDowell (1976) 16f., Dover (1974) 110-112. Opulence was further rejected as particularly linked with tyranny; cf. Sol. fr. 33. 5f. W., S. *OT* 380-382, 541-542, 873-890 (and Sheppard 1920, xlv-lvii, 152),

[445] Cf. Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82, Webster (1967) 63, Hartung (1843-1844) I 370f.
[446] Cf. *TrGF* V,1 384.

Ion 629-631 (and Lee 1997, 230) and Seaford (2004) 311-315. Cf. also note on fr. 2. 7.

Aphorisms of wealth as inhibiting the development of co-operative excellences occur widely in Euripides. The Farmer displays his moderation and prudence towards the acquisition of wealth in *El.* 427-431 (cf. Cropp 1988 *ad loc.*): σκοπῶ τὰ χρήμαθ' ὡς ἔχει μέγα σθένος/ ξένοις τε δοῦναι σῶμά τ' ἐς νόσους πεσὸν / δαπάναισι σῶσαι· τῆς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέραν βορᾶς/ ἐς σμικρὸν ἥκει· πᾶς γὰρ ἐμπλησθεὶς ἀνήρ/ ὁ πλούσιός τε χὠ πένης ἴσον φέρει. Cf. also *Andr.* 639-641, *HF* 774-776 (and Barlow 1996, 158), *El.* 253 (and Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*): πένης ἀνὴρ γενναῖος ἔς τ' ἔμ' εὐσεβής, 941-944: ἡ γὰρ φύσις βέβαιος, οὐ τὰ χρήματα./ ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ παραμένουσ' αἴρει κακά·/ ὁ δ' ὄλβος ἀδίκως καὶ μετὰ σκαιῶν ξυνὼν / ἐξέπτατ' οἴκων, σμικρὸν ἀνθήσας χρόνον, *Ino* fr. 419 Kn.: βίᾳ νυν ἕλκετ' ὦ κακοὶ τιμὰς βροτοί,/καὶ κτᾶσθε πλοῦτον πάντοθεν θηρώμενοι,/ σύμμεικτα μὴ δίκαια καὶ δίκαι' ὁμοῦ·/ ἔπειτ' ἀμᾶσθε τῶνδε δύστηνον θέρος, *Erechtheus* frr. 354, 362. 11-13 Kn., *Alexandros* fr. 61b. 10f. Kn. (and Scodel 1980, 112), frr. 54, 55 Kn., *Antigone* fr. 163 Kn., *Polyidus* fr. 641 Kn., *Pha.* fr. 776 Kn. (and Diggle 1970, 131f.), *Phrixus* fr. 825 Kn., fr. inc. 1029 Kn., notes on *Danae* frr. 11. 7, 12. 4 and Adkins (1960) 172-179, Di Benedetto (1971) 201-205, Nestle (1901) 328-348. Nevertheless, poverty was also rejected as driving to shameful conduct through need; cf. *El.* 375f., Ar. *Eccl.* 604f., *Pl.* 565, Lys. vii 13f., D. xxi 182, xxiv 123, xxix 22, Aeschin. i 88, Isoc. xvii 18, Men. *Dysc.* 296-298 and Dover (1974) 109f.

μηδ' ὁμιλοίην κακοῖς: one's personality and mode of life is revealed by the kind of people, whom one consorts. Character-evaluation on the basis of *ὁμιλία* is a *topos* in Euripides and the significance of the company one keeps is used by Hippolytus and Phoenix in their defence-speeches as proof of their blamelessness (cf. *Hipp.* 997-999 and Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*: φίλοις τε χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀδικεῖν πειρωμένοις/ ἀλλ' οἷσιν αἰδὼς μήτ' ἐπαγγέλλειν κακὰ/ μήτ' ἀνθυπουργεῖν αἰσχρὰ τοῖσι χρωμένοις and *Phoenix* fr. 812. 4-9 Kn.: κἀγὼ μὲν οὕτω χὥστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ σοφὸς/ λογίζομαι τἀληθές, εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν/ σκοπῶν δίαιτάν θ' ἥντιν' ἐμπορεύεται .../ ὅστις δ' ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται κακοῖς ἀνήρ,/ οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι / τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἵσπερ ἥδεται ξυνών). Cf. also *Andr.* 930f. (and Stevens 1971, *ad loc.*), *El.* 383-385 (and Basta Donzelli 1978, 233-237), *Peliades* fr. 609 Kn., *Aegeus* fr. 7 Kn.: κρεῖσσον δὲ πλούτου καὶ βαθυσπόρου χθονὸς/ ἀνδρῶν δικαίων κἀγαθῶν ὁμιλίαι, fr. inc. 1024 Kn.: φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί, fr. inc. 1067 Kn. Cf. Thgn. 1. 31-38 (and Garzya 1958, 228-230),

305-308), A. *Pers.* 753 (and Broadhead 1960, 189), *Th.* 599, Hdt. 7. 16. 6f., Aeschin. i 153 (and Fisher 2001, 295): τὰς κρίσεις οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν φησι ποιεῖσθαι, ἐκεῖσε ἀποβλέπων πῶς τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον ζῇ ὁ κρινόμενος, καὶ ὅντινα τρόπον διοικεῖ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως διοικήσοντα, καὶ τίσι χαίρει πλησιάζων.

Fr. 16:

The speaker of this fragment accuses a male opponent of showing contempt for his own native land and enjoying the lifestyle of Seriphos (l. 2: τήνδε πόλιν). The rejection of individualism and injustice occurs also in frr. 15 and 14, though in general terms, whereas this fragment focuses on civic behaviour. The implied target of frr. 14 and 15 could reasonably have been Polydectes (cf. opening notes *ad loc.*), which raises the question whether he could be the addressee of the present fragment as well, though the accusation is here made explicit. In this direction, it should be noted that such a serious charge would have strongly appealed to the sensitivity of the Athenian audience, especially in the period of stress at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War,[447] which would tell in favour of an unsympathetic addressee; the obvious candidate for such a role would be Polydectes.

Although no evidence survives as to his genealogy in Euripides, we are informed from [Apollod.] 1. 9.6 that Polydectes and Dictys were not native Seriphians. Hesiod mentions that they were sons of Magnes (fr. 8 M.-W.), who was located in the region of Olympus (fr. 7 M.-W., cf. West 1985, 54).[448] If Euripides did follow the mythographic tradition, the king seems to fit every feature of the person against whom the accusation is made: (1) he may have well been a foreigner having inhabited Seriphos, (2) he would fit the description of individualist and unjust (cf. frr. 15, 14), (3) his character should have looked even more appalling, in view of the sensitivity of the Athenian audience towards matters of devotion to the

[447] Cf. Adkins (1960) 191, n. 13.

[448] According to Pherecydes' genealogy (fr. 10 Fowler), Dictys and Polydectes were of Argive origin (and thus not native Seriphians) as descendants of Nauplius, son of Poseidon and Amymone. Cf. 1a. The Mythical Background, p. 120, n. 239.

polis.[449] This powerfully moral argument could be assigned to Dictys [450] and located in the context of his conflict (fr. 3) or possible debate (cf. frr. 4, 5) with the king, to judge from the rhetorical type of argumentation (cf. note on ll. 1-5). This accusation may belong to the context of a general condemnation of Polydectes' malice, as Peleus censures Menelaus' whole history of malevolence in *Andr.* 590-631, describing him twice as κάκιστος. Nevertheless, these lines may also be a specific rejoinder prompted by Polydectes, who might have praised Seriphos and his own *tyrannis*.

Patriotic sentiment is prominent in Euripidean plays written during the War, especially in the *Heraclidae*, *Suppliant Women* and *Erechtheus*.[451] The celebrated ode in praise of Athens in *Med.* 824-845 and the notion of the identification of the citizen with his *polis* in *Philoctetes* fr. 798 Kn., both come from the same production as the *Dictys*. A parallel strong aphorism against the individualist attitude towards one's own city occurs in fr. inc. 886 Kn.: μισῶ πολίτην ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν/ βραδὺς φανεῖται, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,/ καὶ πόριμον αὑτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ' ἀμήχανον. Serious accusations are made in oratory against those who disparage (cf. Lys. xxxi 6 and Carey 1989, *ad loc.*, D. xx 110-111, Andoc. i 5) or abandon their homelands for other cities (the subject of Lycurg. i). Likewise, Menoeceus in *Ph.* 991-1012 describes himself as κακός, if he betrays his fatherland. For the notion of overlapping private and communal interests in this period, cf. Th. 2. 43 and 2. 60.2-4 and for expressions of love for one's homeland, cf. *Aegeus* fr. 6 Kn., *Phoenix* fr. 817 Kn., *Aeolus* fr. 30 Kn., *Temenidae* fr. 729 Kn.

1-5: The speaker develops a type of hypothetical syllogism, the conclusion of which (ll. 3-5) lacks the formulaic phraseology, in which it occurs in formal debates of subsequent plays of Euripides ('if...then...but

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[449] Hartung (1843-1844, I 370) and Duchemin (1968², 92) attributed these lines to Polydectes as attacking Perseus. Apart from the insufficient evidence for an on-stage encounter between them (cf. Plot-Structure), the above mentioned moral connotations of this argument and its possible impact favour a villain as addressee. This would also exclude Dictys, who, even if presented as a foreigner as well, cannot be imagined as enjoying the lifestyle of Seriphos, in view of his humble status, at least not to the extent to which Polydetes would.

[450] So Webster (1967) 64, tentatively followed by Jouan and van Looy (2000) 82.

[451] Cf. Zuntz (1955) 16-20, 80f., Wilkins (1990) 179-181, Delebecque (1951) 87f., 425f., Di Benedetto (1971) 112-114, 121-123, 145-147. Cf. additionally, the attack on Spartans in *Andr.* 445-453 (and Lloyd 1994, *ad loc.*, for parallel passages, cf. Stevens 1971, *ad loc.*) and the praise of Athens as against the inability of Sparta and other city-states to offer help in *Supp.* 187-192 (and Collard 1975$_a$, 157f.).

in fact...', cf. for instance, *Hec.* 1217-1223 and Lloyd 1992, 32f., *El.* 1024-1029, *Or.* 496-506). Cf. the use of this type of argumentation in the *agōn* in *Med.* 488-491, 586f.: χρῆν σ', εἴπερ ἦσθα μὴ κακός, πείσαντά με/ γαμεῖν γάμον τόνδ', ἀλλὰ μὴ σιγῆι φίλων, also *Cresph.* fr. 451 Kn. (and Harder 1985, *ad loc.*). Lysias makes extensive use of formally structured hypothetical syllogisms; cf. iii 22f., xii 28f., 32f., xxii 11f. (and Bateman 1962, 168-170).

μὴ κάκιστος: the opponent is accused of being *κάκιστος* quite often in Euripides' debates, this type of accusation usually being addressed against the guilty party (with the exception of *Hipp.* 945, 959); cf. *Alc.* 717, *Med.* 488, *Andr.* 590, 631, 719, *Hec.* 1199, *HF* 182.

πάτραν: poetic form of *πατρίς* 'fatherland'; cf. *Il.* 12. 243, 24. 500, Pi. *O.* 12. 16, A. *Pers.* 186, S. *Ph.* 222, *Cyc.* 703, *Heracl.* 310, *Tr.* 1132, *IT* 929, in the context of parody in Ar. *Ach.* 147, *Th.* 136, Alexis *Ponēra* fr. 198 K.-A., Diphilus *Synōris* fr. 74. 9 K.-A.

2 ἀτίζων: 'not to honour, to slight', a synonym of *ἀτιμάζω* (*Et. Gud.* Vol. I, 227. 21 De Stefani) occasionally found as its metrical variant at this position of the trimeter; cf. Dale on *Alc.* 1037, Johansen and Whittle on A. *Supp.* 733, *Th.* 441, E. *Supp.* 865. Cf. also *Tr.* 809, A. *Eum.* 541, *Cercyon Satyricus* fr. 105 R., S. *OC* 1153, A.R. 1. 478.

(οὔποτ') ἂν ηὐλόγεις: 'you would never have praised'. Elmsley preferred *ηὐλόγεις* as the genuine classical Attic form to the manuscript reading *εὐλόγεις*. Spellings in *εὐ-* were widely used in the past tense from the end of the fourth century onwards for the earlier forms in *ηὐ-* (cf. Threatte 1980-1996, I 384f.). In terms of the augment and reduplication in *ηὐ-* of the compounds of *εὖ* in particular, the manuscript evidence is late, variable and thus unreliable, while inscriptional evidence is inconclusive for fifth-century usage (cf. Threatte II 499, Mastronarde 1989, 102-104). Mastronarde (1989, 103) reasonably regards Herodian as the sole reliable source for this matter, who clearly described *ηὐ-* as Attic suppressed by *εὐ-* in the *Koinē,* while seeing no difference in his cited examples between a compound of *εὖ,* such as *ηὐφράνθην,* and a common verb beginning in *εὐ-*, such as *ηὐχόμην* (*Gramm. Gr.* III 2. 789. 7-12). *Εὐλογῶ* occurs in praise of a city also in A. *Ag.* 580: τοιαῦτα χρὴ κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν, S. *OC* 720: ὦ πλεῖστ' ἐπαίνοις εὐλογούμενον πέδον.

3 ἔν γ' ἐμοί: 'in my judgment'; ἐν + Dative of person is used in poetry to express conformity with one's opinion (cf. Kühner-Gerth 1904[3], I 466). Cf. *Hipp.* 988, 1320: σὺ δ' ἔν τ' ἐκείνωι κἀν ἐμοὶ φαίνηι κακός, *IA* 1273, A. *Eum.* 469, S. *Ai.* 1092, 1315: καὶ δειλὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ 'ν

ἐμοὶ θρασύς, *OT* 677 (and Jebb 1893[3], *ad loc.*), *Ant.* 459, *OC* 1213f. (and Kamerbeek 1984, *ad loc.*).

4-5: These lines are a *variatio* of ll. 1-2; the same idea was first uttered in specific and now in general terms.

4 πατρῴας γῆς ὅρους: 'the boundaries of one's homeland', a common type of periphrasis in Euripides for the definition of a territory; cf. *Heracl.* 38: κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν τόνδ' ἀφικόμεσθ' ὅρον, 133: ποίας γῆς ὅρους λιπών, *Hec.* 963: ἐν μέσοις Θρήικης ὅροις, 1260: γῆς ὅρους Ἑλληνίδος, *Ion* 1356, *El.* 410f., 1315, *IT* 85, 1450f. The epithet *πατρῷος* is mainly used for homeland, as here (cf. *Cyc.* 108, *Alc.* 169, *Med.* 35, *Heracl.* 1052, *Hipp.* 1048, *Hec.* 1221, *Tr.* 389, *IT* 1066, A. *Th.* 668, *Ag.* 503, S. *Tr.* 236), and with reference to one's natal *oikos* and ancestral gods; cf. *Danae* fr. 4. 4 (and note *ad loc.*).

ἀτιμάζων: 'to hold in no honour, to bring dishonour upon', especially for ideas held as sacred (i.e. gods, homeland, suppliants). In A. *Supp.* 912 and S. *OT* 340, it refers to a city, as in our fragment. Cf. *Alc.* 567, 658, *Heracl.* 78, *Hipp.* 1192, *Ba.* 1320, S. *Ai.* 1342, *Ant.* 572.

5 τρόποισιν: here as 'habit, way of life'. Cf. *Oeneus* fr. 560 Kn.: ἀλλ' ἄλλος ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ἥδεται τρόποις, *Supp.* 187: Σπάρτη μὲν ὠμὴ καὶ πεποίκιλται τρόπους, *Andr.* 230f.: τῶν κακῶν γὰρ μητέρων/ φεύγειν τρόπους χρὴ τέκν' ὅσοις ἔνεστι νοῦς, frr. inc. 897, 1027 Kn., A. *Isthmiastae* fr. 78a. 34 R.

Fr. 17:

The general reflection is here introduced with *φεῦ* as reaction to another character's act or utterance; cf. similarly *Hipp.* 431, *Andr.* 183-185, *Hec.* 863, 956, 1238, *Supp.* 463, *El.* 367 (and Denniston 1939, *ad loc.*), *Ion* 1312 and note on *Danae* fr. 14. 1. The epithet *kakos* may be associated with either competitive or co-operative values in Euripides (cf. note on fr. 4. 2). In this case, the occurrence of *παλαιὸς (αἶνος)* denoting a long-established viewpoint and the use of the same antithesis (*χρηστός-κακός*) in terms of the relation of lineage to character in *El.* 369f. seem to point to the traditional usage of *kakos* attached to a person of low social status. These lines could have thus been Polydectes' attack on Dictys' humble status, which in the king's eyes entails lack of all sorts of excellence and

might be located in the context of their possible *agōn*.[452] Consequently, fr. 14 contesting birth as the sole criterion of *eugeneia*, unless combined with justice, may have been Dictys' rejoinder to the king.

On the other hand, the interpretation of *kakos* in a moral sense, which seems less likely for the above mentioned reasons, would also entail a high degree of conjecture as to the identity of the addressee; the comment on hereditary vice could have been uttered by a sympathetic figure, namely Danae, Dictys or Perseus,[453] as specific reaction to another character's malicious attitude. The most obvious example of malice is Polydectes; no evidence, however, survives as to his father's quality, apart from the names Peristhenes (in Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler) and Magnes (in Hes. fr. 8 M.-W., [Apollod.] 1. 9.6) and he would have probably been excluded from the dramatic action, which would make this statement pointless. Alternatively, in order to explore the possibility that the vicious offspring of an evil father might have been Polydectes' son (the king's assumed interlocutor in frr. 6-9), we would have to presuppose that if he had a role in the play, it would have gone beyond the debate with his father, so as to raise this comment on malice by the sympathetic party.

1 παλαιὸς αἶνος: here, in the sense of 'old saying, proverb'; cf. note on *Danae* fr. 1. 1.

2 χρηστός: 'useful, worthy'; according to the first, preferable, interpretation adhering to the competitive standard of *aretē*, this quality is the outcome of noble lineage and thus restricted to the class of *agathoi*, who are so commended for their beneficial characteristics and effectiveness to assure the stability and well-being of the state. This traditional usage goes back to Homer, where *agathoi* are those who are able to effectively defend the group, by uniting in themselves courage, high birth and wealth, the qualities of which that society holds itself to be most in need; cf. *Il.* 2. 198-202, 12. 310-321, also Pi. *P.* 10.69-72 and Adkins (1972) 13f., 60-65, Adkins (1960) 36, 70f., Bryant (1996) 28-31, 80-84, Ferguson (1958) 19-21. Traditional values continued to exist in the later part of the fifth century; cf. *Heracl.* 510 and *Temenidae* fr. 739 Kn. similarly adhering to the competitive standard of *aretē*, by praising one's conduct as the result of one's lineage. For more examples, cf. note on fr. 4. 2.

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[452] Cf. Stoessl (1958) 162 and *TrGF* V,1 384.

[453] So Webster (1967, 63f.) attributing the fragment to Dictys and Aélion (1986, 159 and n. 28) assigning it to either one of the suppliants. Jouan and van Looy (2000, 82) assigned it to Perseus.

The second, less probable interpretation of *χρηστός* in the present case, as argued above, would commend a person who displays a quiet moral behaviour (relying on justice and *sōphrosynē*) in both private and public life, thereby making himself beneficial to the city-state; the moral nuance of the epithet flourishes in later fifth century upon the development of co-operative excellences as features of *aretē*: cf. *Autolycus* fr. 282. 23-28 Kn., S. *Ant.* 661f. (and Griffith 1999, 237), Ar. *Th.* 832, *Ra.* 1455f. (and Dover 1993, 212), Eupolis *Dēmoi* fr. 129 K.-A., D. xviii 190, 292, Hyp. iv 37, Aeschin. i 30 (and Fisher 2001, *ad loc.*) and Dover (1974) 296-298, Adkins (1960) 195-199, Adkins (1972) 126f., 146, Dover (1988) 10f. and the discussion on fr. 14. 2.

Fr. 18:

The textual transmission of this fragment has raised serious issues of interpretation. The translation of these lines as transmitted is incomprehensible: 'For he was dear to me and may Eros capture me without leading me to folly or Cypris'. Two different and unrelated ideas are expressed: the speaker's affection for a male character in the past tense and the wish to find love in moderation. As transmitted, the fragment seems to have been badly extracted from its context; Stobaeus' aim was evidently to cite the reference to Cypris from the second half of the first line onwards (cf. the title of his section). Prof. C. Carey suggests that the received text could only be retained if we put a strong pause before *καὶ*, so that the two ideas are separated. The first idea must probably be linked to the lost previous part of the text referring to the person, for whom the speaker is expressing these feelings in the past tense, which implies that this person is perhaps regarded as no longer alive. The possibility that Danae or Dictys could have expressed their affection for Perseus, whom they consider to be dead (cf. fr. 2) is weakened by the speaker's hope to find moderate love some time in the future (ποτε + optative), which cannot be plausibly assigned to the old fisherman or Danae, who was already 'captured' by Eros in the past as Zeus' *λέχος*. Webster inclined towards accepting Nauck's conjecture and assigned these lines to young Perseus (cf. Bellerophon's similar wish in *Sthen.* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn. and Theseus in

Theseus fr. 388 Kn.).[454] However, the syntax of the proposed emendation (*φίλον γὰρ ἡμῖν εἶ...*) is unparalleled in Attic Greek.

The problematic transmission of the fragment allows only for conjecture. Usener made a tempting suggestion, by changing *ἔλοι* to *εἶλεν*, which was adopted by Wachsmuth in his edition of Stobaeus. The movable ν can be preserved even before a consonant for metrical reasons, as in numerous other cases in Euripides (cf. *Med.* 566, 1302, *Heracl.* 220, 408, 426, 715, *Hec.* 509, 574, 804, *HF* 305, *El.* 272, 1277, *Tr.* 3, 91, 440, *Ion* 643, *Ph.* 453, *Or.* 566, *Ba.* 473 etc. and Kühner-Blaß 1904[3], I 292). The fragment would thus be translated as follows: 'For he was dear to me and Eros captured me once without leading me to folly or Cypris'. In this case, the speaker might be Danae referring to her sacred union with Zeus, who must be the one whom she regards as *φίλος* ('nearest and dearest'). Gods were considered to be *φίλοι* to certain humans, particularly in cases where they had begotten offspring from their union with mortal women; accordingly, Zeus' relationship with Antiope and her sons and with Heracles' family is described as *φιλία* in *Antiope* fr. 223. 14 Kn. and *HF* 341, 346 respectively.[455] The censure of Polydectes' amorous folly as opposed to Danae's holy union with Zeus could have been dramatically effective and might have been located in a confrontation-scene between the king and the suppliants.

A conjecture made by Wilamowitz seems to me to be quite attractive in terms of its potential relation to the surviving fragments of the play: φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι, καί μ' ἔρως ἔλοι ποτὲ . . . On the basis of our evidence, I would locate it in a different context than Wecklein (1888, 110), who suggested that the speaker may be Danae referring to Dictys, drawing a parallel to Electra's address to the Farmer in *El.* 67 (Danae, however, cannot be a plausible speaker for the above mentioned reasons). The speaker appeals to the idea of *philia* relating him to his interlocutor, while censuring amorous folly. The notions of *philia* and overmastering passion are recurring themes in the possible conversation of frr. 6-9 about the effects of Polydectes' desire for Danae on his family (cf. especially fr. 7. 1f.: πατρὶ φίλτατον τέκνα/ παισίν τε τοὺς τεκόντας, and for Cypris, frr. 8.5f., 9). The speaker of these lines may thus be Polydectes' interlocutor in this discussion, perhaps his son (cf. introductory note on fr. 6), asserting his affection for his father, as Haemon in S. *Ant.* 635 (πάτερ,

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[454] Webster (1967) 63.

[455] Homer describes Zeus as *φίλος* to several of the sons he has begotten from mortal women: Heracles (*Il.* 18. 118), Sarpedon (*Il.* 16. 433, 450, 460, 568), Dardanus (*Il.* 20. 304), Scamander (*Il.* 21. 223). Cf. Dirlmeier (1935) 64-68.

σός εἰμι . . . equivalent to *philos,* cf. Brown 1987, *ad loc.*), while at the same time hoping to find love in moderation (for such a hope expressed by a young character, cf. *Sthen.* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn. and *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn.), unlike Polydectes. In this case, the first half of the first line would be better understood as a parenthesis (φίλος γὰρ εἶ μοι— καί μ' ἔρως ἕλοι ποτὲ. . .) and the fragment might have been related to the *νουθέτησις* against amorous folly, which is rejected by Polydectes in fr. 9 (hence, hypothetically: '<I am making this admonition>, for you are dear to me— and may Eros capture me without leading me to folly or Cypris, <unlike you>').

2: The quest for *sophron eros* is a *topos* in Euripides, in the context of his treatment of the destructive effects brought by overmastering passion; cf. *Med.* 627-643 (and Mastronarde 2002, 276-279, Page 1938, 118f.), *Hipp.* 525-529 (and Gill 1990, 80-92, Segal 1970, 281), *Andr.* 464-470, *Hel.* 1105f. (and Kannicht 1969, 275), *IA* 543-557 (and Stockert 1992, 355, 360-363), *Sthen.* fr. 661. 21-25 Kn., *Theseus* fr. 388 Kn., *Melanippe* fr. 503 Kn. (and van Looy 1964, *ad loc.*), *Aeolus* fr. 26 Kn., fr. inc. 897. 9-11 Kn., 967 Kn. For the notion of *sōphrōn erōs*, cf. also Democritus fr. 73 D.-K., Pl. *Phaedrus* 243E 9- 257B 6, *Symp.* 180E, 186A-B, X. *Mem.* 1. 6.13 and North (1966_a) 73f., Lesky (1976) 71-74, Fischer (1973) 60. For *sōphrosynē* as a virtue in private and civic life, cf. note on fr. 15. 2.

Sexual intemperance was mostly regarded as a feminine vice; cf. *Med.* 263-6, 569-75, *Hipp.* 643-645, *Andr.* 218-221, schol. vet. Ar. *Ra.* 849 Holwerda (with reference to libidinous Aerope of the *Cretan Women*), also Hes. fr. 275 M.-W., Anaxandr. fr. inc. 61 K.-A., Men. *Samia* 349f. and Dover (1974) 100-102. In the *Dictys*, however, it is a man who is censured for his amorous passion (for which, cf. opening notes on frr. 8 and 9), as is Theoclymenus in *Hel.* 1018f.

εἰς τὸ μῶρον: a strongly condemnatory word, denoting folly and culpable lack of intelligence, often associated with sexual intemperance in Euripides; cf. Barrett (1964) 282. In this case, this particular sense of the word is made even stronger in view of the reference to Cypris (epithet of Aphrodite mostly used to connote sexual desire, cf. opening note on fr. 9). For eloquent parallels, cf. *Hipp.* 642-644 (cf. Barrett 1964 and Halleran 1995, *ad loc.*): τὸ γὰρ κακοῦργον μᾶλλον ἐντίκτει Κύπρις/ ἐν ταῖς σοφαῖσιν· ἡ δ' ἀμήχανος γυνὴ/ γνώμῃ βραχείαι μωρίαν ἀφῃρέθη, 966-969: ἀλλ' ὡς τὸ μῶρον ἀνδράσιν μὲν οὐκ ἔνι,/ γυναιξὶ δ' ἐμπέφυκεν; οἶδ' ἐγὼ νέους/ οὐδὲν γυναικῶν ὄντας ἀσφαλεστέρους,/ ὅταν ταράξῃ Κύπρις ἡβῶσαν φρένα and *Tr.* 988-990 (cf. Lee 1976,

238, Barlow 1986, 212, Biehl 1989, 365): ὁ σὸς δ' ἰδών νιν νοῦς ἐποιήθη Κύπρις·/ τὰ μῶρα γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη βροτοῖς,/ καὶ τοὔνομ' ὀρθῶς ἀφροσύνης ἄρχει θεᾶς. Cf. also *Andr.* 673f. (with Stevens' note on 674), *El.* 1035 (cf. Denniston 1939 and Cropp 1988, *ad loc.*), *Ion* 545: — ἦλθες ἐς νόθον τι λέκτρον;/ — μωρίαι γε τοῦ νέου, *Hel.* 1018, *Sthen.* fr. 661. 5 Kn. (for *νήπιος* as a synonym to *μῶρος* ; cf. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, *ad loc.*): πολλοὺς δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει γαυρουμένους/ γυνὴ κατῆσχυν' ἐν δόμοισι νηπία. An even stronger word bearing this sense is *μάχλος* ('lustful', confined to women) occurring in *Cretans* fr. 472e. 8 Kn., also Hes. *Op.* 586, fr. 132 M.-W., *A.P.* 7. 345.6, 351.9.

Κύπριν: often connoting sexual desire; cf. introductory note on fr. 9.

Fr. 19:

This word is preserved by Hesychius, who reads *ἀζοίμην*, which was changed to *ἀζοίμην* with a rough breathing by Nauck. *Ἄζομαι* signifies 'to stand in awe of s.o./ sth, especially gods and one's parents, to respect, to be afraid of '(*LSJ* [9]); cf. *Alc.* 326, *Heracl.* 600, 1038, *Or.* 1116, also *Il.* 1. 21. *Od.* 17. 401. A. *Supp.* 652, 884, *Eum.* 389, 1002, S. *OT* 155, *OC* 134, A.R. 4. 250. This verb is never found in the completely different sense of *ἀγανακτῶ*, which is attested by Hesychius. On the other hand, *ἄζω* with a smooth breathing denotes 'to groan, to sigh' [456] and accords with one of the meanings of *ἀγανακτῶ* as 'to show outward signs of grief' (*LSJ* [9]; cf. Pl. *Phd.* 117D 5: καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἀναβρυχησάμενος κλάων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν). Hesychius interprets *ἄζειν* as *στενάζειν ἢ ἐκπνεῖν διὰ στόματος* (α 1445 Latte) and preserves the related glossa *ἀζωλεῖ*, which signifies *ἀγανακτεῖ* (α 1484 Latte). In S. fr. inc. 980 R. *ἄζειν* occurs in the sense of *στένειν* (Photius α 431 Theodorides). I thus agree with Prof. Kannicht (who cites the passages from Hesychius and Sophocles) that *ἀζοίμην* as *ἀγανακτῶ* should be related to *ἄζω* rather than to the semantically divergent *ἄζομαι*, therefore, the smooth breathing must be preserved as read in Hesychius. In view of the complete isolation of the verb from its context, I would not hazard any guess as to the speaker's identity or its location within the play.

[456] Another meaning of the word is 'to get dry' (Hsch. α 1483 Latte, cf. *Il.* 4. 487).

APPENDIX

Euripides and Danae's Legend in Late Antiquity: The Spurious fr. 1132 Kn.

ΕΡΜΗΣ. Δόμοι μὲν οἵδ' εὔπυργά τ' ἐρύματα χθονὸς
οὐκ ἐν πολυχρύσοισιν ἤσκηται χλιδαῖς·
ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶνδε καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματα
Ἀκρίσιος εἵληχεν, τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς·
Ἕλλησι δ' Ἄργος ἡ πόλις κικλήσκεται.
οὗτος δ' ἔρωτι παιδὸς ἄρσενος σχεθεὶς
Πυθώδ' ἀφῖκτο, καὶ λέγει Φοίβῳ τάδε·
πῶς ἂν γένοιτο σπέρμα παιδὸς ἐν δόμῳ,
τίνος θεῶν βροτῶν τε πρευμενοῦς τυχών;
κεῖνος δὲ δυσξύμβλητον ἐξήνεγκ' ὅπα·
ἔσται μὲν ἔσται παιδὸς ἄρσενος τόκος
οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνου· πρῶτα γὰρ θῆλυν σπορὰν
φῦσαι δεήσει. κᾆτά πως κείνη ποτὲ
εὐνὴν κρυφαίαν γνοῦσα καὶ μὴ γνοῦσα δὴ
ὑπόπετρον λέοντα τέξεται πατρί,
ὃς τῆσδέ γ' ἄρξει θατέρας πολλῆς χθονός.
τοιαῦτ' ἀκούσας Λοξίου μαντεύματα
γάμων ἀπείχεθ', ὅμως δέ γε τίκτει λαθών,
πρὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἱμέρου νικώμενος.
Δανάην δέ πως ὠνόμασε τήνδ', ὁθούνεκα
πολὺς παρῆλθεν εἰς γονὴν παίδων χρόνος.
ἐν παρθενῶσι δ' εὐθὺς οἷς ἐδείματο
δίδωσιν Ἀργείαισιν ἔμφρουρον κόραις,
εἰς ἀνδρὸς ὄψιν εὐλαβούμενος μολεῖν.
εἶθ' ὡς ὁ μακρὸς ηὔξανεν ταύτην χρόνος,

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4 εἵληχεν cod.: εἵληχ' ὧν Musgrave || 9 τυχών cod.: τύχω Bothe || 15 ὑπόπετρον cod. : ὑπόπτερον emend. Bentley || 16 τῆσδέ γ' cod. : τῆσδέ τ' Porson | θατέρας cod. : χατέρας Heath || 18 ὅμως δέ γε cod.: ὁ δὲ γ' ὅμως Wolff || 20 δέ πως cod.: δέ παῖδ' Boissonade

καὶ κάλλος εἶχεν ἔξοχον καθ' Ἑλλάδα,
φίλτροις ἀφύκτοις Ζεὺς κατασχεθεὶς πατὴρ
εὐνῇ συνελθεῖν λάθρᾳ πως ἠβούλετο.
σαφῶς δὲ πείθειν οὐκ ἔχων, εἰς μηχανὴν
τοιάνδ' ἐχώρησ', ὡς ἄπυρος χρυσὸς γεγὼς—
ποθεινὸν εἰδὼς τοῦτο κτῆμα τοῖς βροτοῖς—
διὰ στέγους ῥεύσειεν ἐν χερσὶν κόρης.
ἣ δ' αὖ μὴ γνοῦσα τὸν κεκρυμμένον δόλον
κόλποισι τὸν θεὸν εἰσρέοντ' ἐδέξατο.
χρόνῳ δ' ἑαυτὴν ὡς κατεῖδ' ἐγκύμονα,
εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσῄει κἀξεπέπληκτο σαφῶς,
ὡς εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε, μέμψιν εὐλαβουμένη.
φυγῇ δὲ λάθρᾳ τῆσδε γῆς ὁρμωμένην
μαθὼν πατήρ νιν ἐγκατάκλειστον δόμοις
ὀργῇ χολωθεὶς καὶ σκότῳ κρύψας ἔχει,
τἀληθὲς ὄψει προσκοπούμενος μαθεῖν.
κἂν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ καὶ σαφῶς ἔχοντ' ἴδῃ,
ἔγνωκεν ἄμφω ποντίους ἀφιέναι,
τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸ τεχθέν. ὧν δέ γ' ἐστάλην,
μύθους Δανάῃ τούσδ' εὐπροσηγόρους ἄγων
ἐκ Διός, ἀφίξομαι τάχιστα σημανῶν.
ὑπηρέτην γὰρ ὄντα τἀπεσταλμένα
πράσσειν προθύμως, ὅστις ἄν γ' ᾖ νουνεχής.
ΧΟΡΟΣ. τίς ὁ καινότροπος οὗτος μῦθος
κατ' ἐμὰν ἦκεν ἀκουάν;
ἔνθ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα
τοῖσδε δώμασι κοιράνου ἀμφίδοξος πελάζω·
τίς δεσπότιν ἐμὴν Δανάην

28 λάθρᾳ πως cod. : λαθρίως Musgrave || 31 τοῦτο κτῆμα cod. : κτῆμα τοῦτο Matthiae || 33 αὖ μὴ γνοῦσα cod. : ἀγνοοῦσα Heath || 36 σαφῶς cod. : σφοδρῶς Pierson || 38 ὁρμωμένην Barnes: ὁρμωμένης cod. || 40 ὀργῇ cod. : ἔργει Nauck || 42 κἂν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ Musgrave: καὐτὰς τἀληθῆ cod. || 48 πράσσειν cod.: πράσσων Wolff || 53 δεσπότιν Nauck : δέσποτιν cod.

βάξις ἔχει κατὰ πτόλιν;
ἣν μήποτ' ὤφελ' εἰς ὦτα φέρειν
ὁ πρῶτος τάδε φράσαι τολμήσας,
ὡς ἐγκύμων εἴληπται χρανθεῖσα λέκτροις
ἀνδρός· πατὴρ δέ μιν κλήσας
ἐν παρθενῶσι σφραγῖσι δέμας φυλάσσει.
ταῦτ' ἐτήτυμα μαθεῖν θέλω.
ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τύραννον χθονὸς τῆσδε
Ἀργείας Ἀκρίσιον πρὸ δόμων στείχοντα·
ὀργῇ βαρύς, ὡς δόξαι, κέαρ.
ΑΚΡΙΣΙΟΣ. σὺ δ' εἰ κατ' οἴκους εὐνοῶν ἐτύγχανες,
οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθες εἰς τόδε θράσους ...

61 τύραννον χθονὸς τῆσδε cod.: τῆσδε κοίρανον χθονὸς Nauck, coll. *HF* 138 || 65 εἰς τόδε θράσους cod.: εἰς τόδ' εἰς ὃ νῦν θράσους Porson

1. Diagnosis of Spuriousness

Fr. 1132 Kn. is transmitted in the fourteenth-century codex P of Euripides (Vaticanus Palatinus gr. 287, f° 147^{v}-148^{r}) after what purports to be the 'hypothesis' and '*personarum index*' of the Euripidean *Danae*.[1] As already mentioned (cf. note on T5), the 'hypothesis', list of dramatic characters and the 65 lines of this fragment are evidently written in the same hand as the preceding spurious *IA* 1570-1629, which was identified by Turyn as that of the rubricator Ioannes Katrares.[2] The '*Danae*-prologue' was first diagnosed as spurious by Elmsley, who also noted its resemblance in technique to the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*.[3] West traced further common stylistic features in the two pieces and taking also into account the similar circumstances of their preservation, he suggested that the spurious ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* and the false '*Danae* prologue' could have been written by the same author some time between

[1] The text followed is Kannicht's (*TrGF* V,2 1031-1034)
[2] Cf. Zuntz (1965) 139 and n. 39, West (1981) 74 and Turyn (1964) 127.
[3] Cf. Elmsley (1811-12) 77 and (1813) 432.

the fourth and seventh century.[4] The spuriousness of the '*Danae*-fragment' is suggested by:

(1) language: the use of later words, as observed by Wünsch:[5] ἐγκατάκλειστον (l. 39, the earliest use occurs in Christian authors), νουνεχής (l. 48, the earliest occurrence is Plb. 30.2.4 and then traced widely in Christian authors), καινότροπος (l. 49, the earliest occurrence is Appian *Mithrid.* 318), ἀμφίδοξος (l. 52, first occurring in Plb. 18. 28). Certain linguistic faults were pointed out by West: δέ γε (ll. 18, 44), ὅστις ἄν γε (l. 48).[6] To these features, I should add the occurrence of later words, such as σχεθείς (l. 6, the earliest use is in Lucian *Lex.* 11. 10), κατασχεθείς (l. 27, the earliest occurrence is D.S. 23. 16.1), δυσξύμβλητον (l. 10, first occurrence in Cornutus p. 57 Lang, but cf. [A.]. *Pr.* 775: εὐξύμβλητος, S. *Tr.* 694: ἀξύμβλητον) and the prosaic ἔμφρουρος (l. 23) and εἰσρέοντ' (l. 34), while ἀκουάν (l. 50) first occurs in Cercidas fr. 4. 22 Powell, *A.P.* 2. 1.326, 9. 7.1 and in the plural in A.R. 4. 17, 908.

(2) metre: the most striking among the later metrical features traced by West are the absence of caesura (ll. 4, 46), violation of Porson's law (l. 4), anapaests in other feet than the first, apart from names (l. 30), prosodic errors (cf. for instance, ll. 33, 61), anapaestic dimeters with disregard of metron-diaeresis and hypercatalexis instead of catalexis (l. 62f.).[7]

(3) matters of dramatic technique and inconsistency with the evidence for the Euripidean *Danae*, which are to be discussed below (cf. sections 2 and 3b).

West further suggested that the '*Danae*-fragment' could have been composed with the same purpose as the ending of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, namely to replace the lost opening of the play, by someone who presumably had at his disposal remnants of a set of Euripides' plays arranged alphabetically, including remnants of the *Danae*.[8] He thus proposed Eugenios of Augustopolis as a possible author, an eminent professor in Constantinople during the reign of Anastasios I (end of fifth/early sixth century), who studied Greek tragedy closely and wrote on

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[4] Cf. West (1981) 74f.
[5] Cf. Wünsch (1896) 148.
[6] Cf. West (1981) 75.
[7] For more detail, cf. West (1981) 74f.
[8] West (1981, 78, n. 49) assumed that the *Danae* 'prologue' might have been a replacement for the lost initial leaves of a volume containing *Danae, Dictys, Epeios, Erechtheus, Eurystheus.* For the trend of filling gaps in the transmission of texts with forgeries, cf. Speyer (1971) 136-139, also Ronconi (1965) 16, Speyer (1969) 244f., Brox (1975) 45f.

tragic lyric metres (Sud. ε 3394 Adler, cf. Cohn 1907, 987f.).[9] In such a case, what purports to be the 'hypothesis' and *'personarum index'* of the *Danae* might have been prefixed to the 'prologue', in accordance with the trend of adding prefatory material to the dramatic texts, the earliest evidence for which is the Bodmer papyrus of Menander dated in late third century AD [10] (cf. also note on *Danae* T5).

Nevertheless, this interpretation could have the following shortcomings: (i) unlike the spurious closing part of the exodos of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, what survives from the '*Danae*-fragment' suggests that if it was a specially composed supplement, it would have aimed to replace the lost prologue, parodos and the beginning of the first episode of the play, which would have made it a significantly more extensive composition. Moreover, as Page plausibly argued, *IA* 1578-1629 may have not been a composed supplement in its entirety, in view of the notable difference in quality between parts of this piece, but the forged verses could have aimed to supplement several illegible lines of the text;[11] this would be another basic difference in the motives for composing each of the two spurious pieces, (ii) certain cases of inconsistency of the 'prologue' with the evidence for the plot of Euripides' *Danae* could imply that the author of this piece did not have access to the rest of the play. In terms of this fact, one may argue that more leaves of the codex could have been missing, therefore, the author would have had access only from a point of the play onwards (perhaps from the discovery onwards, cf. below, The Sources). If so, it should have to be assumed that he undertook the huge task of supplementing a big part of the play on his own and may have given up in l. 65, where Acrisius' speech is abruptly cut off (or perhaps the rest of his composition got lost).

On the other hand, the possibility that this piece was only ever written as an independent composition is worth exploring. There are numerous cases of rhetorical exercises for educational purposes in papyri from the second century BC until the seventh century AD,[12] involving, among other things, imitation of poetry. I would note, for instance, *P. Ryl.* III 487 dated towards the fourth century AD, which is a version of Odysseus' homecoming in hexameters, as well as Libanius' reference to an epic poem on a Homeric theme, which was composed by Tatian, one of his contemporaries, and became very popular among teachers and students

[9] Cf. West (1981) 76.
[10] For the Menander-papyrus, cf. Turner (1958) 9 and n. 1.
[11] Cf. Page (1934) 196-199, followed by Stockert (1992) 85f.
[12] Cf. Morgan (1998) 199f.

(*Ep.* 990). Moreover, *PSI* XIII 1303 dated in the third century AD preserves a reworking of the *agōn*-scene of the *Phoenissae* in tragic style and metre and, in view of its quality and inconsistency, it has been reasonably classified as a rhetorical exercise.[13] This piece shares with our fragment the imitation of typical elements of Euripidean dramatic technique (such as the *agōn* and the narrative prologue in each case), stylistic weaknesses, inconsistency of content (cf. below, Dramatic Technique) and furthermore, the feature of ending abruptly, which is a common mark of exercises.[14] I would thus regard the possibility that fr. 1132 Kn. could have been a rhetorical exercise imitating a Euripidean opening as worth considering. In such a case, the author is likely to have been a school-master and his knowledge of tragic style, technique and lyric metres, in particular, could fit the features of Eugenios of Augustopolis, as suggested by West, or of a professor of similar calibre. In view of the significant decline in the educational system during the reign of Justinian,[15] if this piece was written for such a purpose, it seems likely to have been composed some time till the sixth century. The inconsistency with the evidence for the *Danae* may either be explained by the author's wish to innovate in certain aspects (as the author of the exercise on the *Phoenissae* [16]) or by his lack of direct access to the play. In either case, he seems to have aimed to imitate Euripidean technique, while drawing material from Danae's legend and possibly from the dramatist's treatment of the myth (in l. 30f., for instance, he alludes to the notorious fr. 7 and has widely consulted Lucian, whom he might regard as reproducing Euripides, cf. below, The Sources).

Another factor, which may tell in favour of the possibility of an independent composition, is Katrares' apparent fondness of gathering various kinds of dramatic pastiche, such as a monologue of 35 lines on a fictitious theme written in Byzantine dodecasyllable and transmitted in Esc. Φ-II-19, f. 91^{v} (dated in 1309) after the text of the *Iliad*.[17] This 'jeu d' esprit' is preceded, as fr. 1132 Kn., by a *'personarum index'*, which does not seem to serve any obvious purpose.[18] Cf. note on *Danae* T5 for the possibility that Katrares might have inserted on his own the list of dramatic

[13] Cf. Cribiore (2001_b) 256-258 and (2001_a) 230. For further examples of exercises of imitation, cf. Cribiore (1996) 259-262, 60, n. 25.
[14] Cf. Cribiore (1996) 59f.
[15] Cf. Kennedy (1994) 256.
[16] Cf. Cribiore (2001_b) 257f.
[17] Cf. De Andrés, Irigoin and Hörandner (1974) 201-214.
[18] *op. cit.* 205.

characters before this pastiche and perhaps also before the '*Danae*-fragment' to suit the arrangement of prefatory material in dramatic manuscripts.

2. The Sources of the '*Danae*-fragment'

The author of the 'prologue' evidently consulted the sources for Danae's myth and literary evidence, which he might have regarded as reproducing Euripides' play, mainly Lucian (cf. note on *Danae* T5). Unless he knew the prologue-speaker from an available source (for the question of Hermes' role in the Euripidean play, cf. the discussion in *Danae, Dramatis Personae*), he is likely to have invented him; the choice of Hermes could have relied on the god's involvement in Perseus' legend (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 11 Fowler, [Apollod.] 2. 4.2) and on the reference to his visits to Zeus' beloved women, including Danae, in Luc. *D. Deor.* 4. 2 (καὶ νῦν ἄρτι ἥκοντά με ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος παρὰ τῆς Κάδμου θυγατρός, ἐφ' ἣν πέπομφέ (scil. Zeus) με ὀψόμενον ὅ τι πράττει ἡ παῖς, μηδὲ ἀναπνεύσαντα πέπομφεν αὖθις εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἐπισκεψόμενον τὴν Δανάην, εἶτ' ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν, φησίν, ἐλθὼν ἐν παρόδῳ τὴν Ἀντιόπην ἰδέ).[19] Moreover, the author may have recalled Hermes' delivery of the prologue-speech in the *Ion*, with reference to a similar situation (the seduction of a princess by a god and the birth of divine offspring).

The oracle foretelling Acrisius' death at the hands of his grandson (cf. Pherecyd. fr. 10 Fowler and [Apollod.] 2. 4.1) is here vaguely presented (l. 15: the imagery of the lion may be suggestive, cf. below, Style). Despite the oracle, Acrisius begets Danae accidentally (l. 18f.), which is nowhere else attested and may have derived from the account of Oedipus' accidental conception in *Ph.* 13-22.[20] In addition, Danae is presented as guarded *ἐν παρθενῶσι* (l. 22f., cf. also T5. 3), which is not inconsistent with the idea of the widely attested bronze chamber, though unspecific. Her beauty (l. 26) is frequently mentioned in the mythical sources (cf. *Il.* 14. 319, Hes. fr. 129. 14 M.-W., *Sc.* 216, Pi. *N.* 10. 10ff.). The reference to the overwhelming power of gold (l. 30f.) could originate in the numerous sources from the fourth century BC onwards alluding to Danae's seduction as bribery, including Luc. *Gall.* 13, 14, *Tim.*

[19] Cf. Rein (1926) 126.
[20] Cf. Zielinski (1925) 294.

41, which seem to have been inspired by *Danae* fr. 7 (cf. opening note *ad loc.*), or in the author's own knowledge of these notorious lines from the play. Furthermore, the timing of Acrisius' discovery of Danae's pregnancy clearly diverges from the mythical sources (cf. *Danae,* 1a. The Mythical Background) and the evidence for the Euripidean play, according to which it was after Perseus' birth that Acrisius found out (cf. Plot-Structure). Hence, the author of this piece may have either tried to innovate or may have not had access to the part of the play treating Acrisius' discovery. In the latter case, he could have resorted to Luc. *D. Mar.* 12: φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν Δία χρυσὸν γενόμενον ῥυῆναι διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐπ' αὐτήν, δεξαμένην δὲ ἐκείνην ἐς τὸν κόλπον καταρρέοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐγκύμονα γενέσθαι. τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατήρ, ἄγριός τις καὶ ζηλότυπος γέρων, ἠγανάκτησε καὶ ὑπό τινος μεμοιχεῦσθαι οἰηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἄρτι τετοκυῖαν. It cannot be excluded that Lucian could have followed a less known version of the myth presenting Acrisius as discovering the truth before Danae gives birth to Perseus; nonetheless, he may have well relied on the known version and the brevity and ambiguity of his narrative might have led to a misinterpretation of the passage by the author of the 'prologue' and perhaps also by Tzetzes in his conflated scholium on Lyc. 838 (Scheer).

3. Imitation of Euripides

a. Style:

Apart from common poetic vocabulary, such as δόμοι (ll. 1, 39), χθονός (ll. 1, 16, 61), μολεῖν (l. 24), γεγώς (l. 30), βάξις, πτόλιν (l. 54), δέμας (l. 59), ἐτήτυμα (l. 60), στείχοντα (l. 62), the author of the 'prologue' made a conscious effort to imitate tragic style, especially Euripidean. The most striking cases are as follows:

1 δόμοι μὲν οἵδ': cf. *Hel.* 1 : Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, *Meleagros* fr. 515.1 Kn.: Καλυδὼν μὲν ἥδε γαῖα, Πελοπίας χθονὸς, *Auge* fr. 264a Kn.: Ἀλέας Ἀθάνας ὅδε πολύχρυσος δόμος and S. *Ph.* 1f.: ἀκτὴ μὲν ἥδε τῆς περιρρύτου χθονὸς/ Λήμνου.

ἐρύματα: widely occurring in tragedy, though only in singular; cf. *Med.* 597, 1322, *Ph.* 983, *Ba.* 55, *IA* 189, also A. *Ch.* 154, *Eum.* 701, S. *Ai.* 467 (the plural occurs from fourth-century prose onwards; cf. Pl. *Lg.* 681A 2, Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2.14, *Oec.* 6.10).

2 ἥσκηται χλιδαῖς: cf. S. *El.* 452 (cited by Wünsch 1896, 150).

4 τύραννος τῆσδε γῆς: cf. *Hel.* 4, also *Supp.* 399.

6 ἔρωτι παιδός: cf. *Ion* 67 (cited by Jacobs 1834, 631, n. 8): ἔρωτι παίδων, add also *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 21 Kn.: τέκνων ἔρωτι.

8 σπέρμα παιδός: cf. *Med.* 669, *Ion* 405 (cited by Jacobs 1834, 631, n. 8).

9 πρευμενοῦς τυχών: cf. *Tr.* 739: πρευμενεστέρων τύχοις (cited in *TrGF* V, 2, *ad loc.*), also *Hec.* 538, 540, *Or.* 119,138, *Pha.* fr. 781. 60 Kn.

10 ἐξήνεγκ': cf. S. *Tr.* 741: τίν' ἐξήνεγκας, ὦ τέκνον, λόγον , also *Hec.* 701.

ὅπα: cf. *Hipp.* 602: οἵων λόγων ἄρρητον εἰσήκουσ' ὅπα, 1321: μάντεων ὅπα, *Hel.* 1596, *Or.* 1669.

11 ἔσται μὲν ἔσται: cf. *Alc.* 328, *Ion* 425: ἔσται τάδ', ἔσται.

12 θῆλυν σποράν: cf. *Hec.* 658: ἡ πάντα νικῶσ' ἄνδρα καὶ θῆλυν σπορὰν.

15 λέοντα τέξεται πατρί: the imagery of the lion prone to bring disaster may originate in A. *Ag.* 717ff.

20 ὀθούνεκα: cf. *Ion* 661f. (also in the context of paretymology): Ἴωνα δ' ὀνομάζω σε τῆι τύχηι πρέπον,/ ὀθούνεκ' ἀδύτων ἐξιόντι μοι θεοῦ, *Hel.* 104, S. *Tr.* 277, [A.] *Pr.* 330.

22f.: cf. *IA* 738: ὀχυροῖσι παρθενῶσι φρουροῦνται καλῶς (cited by Wünsch 1896, 151).

24 εἰς ὄψιν μολεῖν: cf. *Ion* 1557: ἐς μὲν ὄψιν σφῶιν μολεῖν, also *Med.* 173f., 775, *IT* 902.

27 φίλτροις ἀφύκτοις: cf. *Med.* 531: τόξοις ἀφύκτοις (the arrows of Eros).

30 ποθεινὸν κτῆμα: cf. *Or.* 1032: ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄμμ' ὁμιλίας ἐμῆς, S. *Ph.* 1445: ὦ φθέγμα ποθεινόν.

36 εἰς θαῦμ' ἐσῆει: cf. *IA* 1580 (cited by West 1981, 75): ἐμοὶ δέ τ' ἄλγος οὐ μικρὸν εἰσήιει φρενί, add also *Or.* 1668: καίτοι μ' ἐσήιει δεῖμα.

37 εἰς τόδ' ἦλθε, 65 οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἦλθες εἰς τόδε θράσους: to *Or.* 566, *Supp.* 1091 and *Hipp.* 1332 cited by Kannicht (*TrGF* V, 2, 1034), I would add *Hipp.* 1298, *Supp.* 1089, *Tr.* 401: εἰ δ' ἐς τόδ' ἔλθοι, *Ion* 244: τί ποτε μερίμνης ἐς τόδ' ἦλθες, *Ph.* 195, 963: ἐς τόδ' εἶμι συμφορᾶς.

44-46: cf. *IT* 1409: κἀγὼ μὲν εὐθὺς πρὸς σὲ δεῦρ' ἀπεστάλην,/ σοὶ τὰς ἐκεῖθεν σημανῶν, ἄναξ, τύχας, also *Hec.* 217, *IT* 237.

47f. τἀπεσταλμένα πράσσειν: cf. *Tr.* 1149: σὺ δ' ὡς τάχιστα πρᾶσσε τἀπεσταλμένα (cited by Jacobs 1834, 635, n. 19), add also A. *Ch.* 779: πρᾶσσε τἀπεσταλμένα. For the closure of the opening

monologue with a gnome, cf. *Alc.* 75f., *Med.* 48, *Supp.* 40f., *HF* 57-59, *Tr.* 95-97, *Or.* 70.

55 εἰς ὦτα φέρειν: cf. S. *Ai.* 149: εἰς ὦτα φέρει πᾶσιν Ὀδυσσεύς (cited by Wünsch 1896, 150).

57 χρανθεῖσα: A. *Supp.* 266 (cited by Wünsch 1896, 150).

61 ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γάρ: typical Euripidean announcement of a character's entrance; cf. *Cyc.* 36, *Alc.* 24, *Hipp.* 51, *Hec.* 724, *El.* 107, *HF* 138, *Ion* 392, *Or.* 725, *Ba.* 1165.

The Homeric ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνουσα (l. 51, cf. *Il.* 4. 32, 22. 10, *Od.* 1. 20) follows Euripides' trend of using epic vocabulary in his choral odes; cf. Breitenbach (1934) 268-288, Barner (1971) 297.

The author of this piece follows tragic metres closely; the narrative prologue is written in iambic trimeters and as regards the lyric metres of the parodos, to those noted by Kannicht (*TrGF* V,2, 1033), I would add the anapaestic dimeter upon choral entrance [21] (ll. 49, 51, cf. similarly the anapaestic dimeters at the beginning of the parodos in *Alc.* 77f., *Hec.* 98f., *El.* 167), the dochmiacs in l. 59 (a 'dochmius kaibelianus' and a hypercatalectic dochmius) and the cretic in conjunction with the dochmius in l. 60. The metrical weaknesses have been briefly observed above (section 1) and naturally result from the looser metrical rules of late antiquity.[22]

b. Dramatic technique

The 'prologue' is structured upon the model of Euripides' narrative prologues delivered by gods (cf. *Alcestis, Hippolytus, Hecabe*—with Polydorus' ghost in the place of a god— *Trojan Women, Ion* and *Bacchae*). The structural predictability of Euripidean openings was notorious in antiquity and criticized in Ar. *Ra.* 946f., 1177-1250 (schol. v. 1219 Holwerda: διαβάλλει δὲ τὴν ὁμοειδίαν τῶν εἰσβολῶν τῶν δραμάτων and Sommerstein 1996, 264).[23]

The appearance of a divine prologue-speaker has to be justified by the god's relation to one or more of the dramatic characters; Polydorus' ties with Hecabe are self-evident (*Hec.* 30-34), while Apollo's association

[21] For this rhythm upon choral entrance, cf. West (1982) 122.

[22] Cf. West (1982, 75) comparing these metrical features with those of contemporary poems by Paul the Silentiary, John of Gaza and Gregory of Nazianzus.

[23] Cf. the criticism of his prologues in *Vita Eur.* in *TrGF* V,1, Test. A1 IB, 54f.

with Admetus (*Alc.* 9-12) and Hermes' involvement in Ion's rescue (*Ion* 28-40) are made clear. Moreover, Aphrodite (*Hipp.* 10-50), Dionysus (*Ba.* 45-48) and the pair Poseidon-Athena (*Tr.* 65-94) plan their vengeance on characters, who slighted their *timē*. Accordingly, Hermes has to give a reason for appearing; he has been sent by Zeus to deliver a message to Danae (ll. 44-48). He does not clearly mention what that message involves; judging by the context of his speech, Danae is not aware of her seducer's identity (l. 36f.), therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the message would have aimed to inform her that she was seduced by Zeus transformed into golden shower (cf. below).

The speaker opens the monologue by referring to the setting of the play (ll. 1, 5, for parallels, cf. Style and note on *Dictys* fr. 1). Interestingly, the author skips the most obvious opening of Euripidean divine prologue-speeches (the ἥκω type, cf. *Hec.* 1, *Ion* 5, *Tr.* 1, *Ba.* 1). He then reports the background of the story (ll. 6-41) and goes on to indicate the present crisis (ll. 42-44); cf. the divine prologues in *Alc.* 3-21, *Hipp.* 9-40, *Hec.* 4-41, *Tr.* 4-44, *Ion* 8-65, *Ba.* 13-42 and the rest of the narrative prologue-speeches in *Med.* 1-45, *Heracl.* 6-47, *Andr.* 1-55, *Supp.* 8-40, *HF* 13-54, *El.* 1-49, *IT* 6-58, *Hel.* 4-67, *Ph.* 5-83, *Or.* 4-66.

Certain particular features need to be noted as well. The direct speech in the narrative (l. 8f.)—aiming to enliven the account and highlight a specific theme [24]—is also employed in the prologues in *Heracl.* 29f., *IT* 17-23, *Ion* 28-36, *Ph.* 17-20 and *Archelaus* fr. 228b. 23-25 Kn. The paretymology of the name Danae (l. 20f.) probably from *δηναιός* ('after a long time') [25] follows the etymologies of Euripidean prologues, which bear a didactic tone rather than a dramatic punch;[26] cf. the paretymologies in the prologues in *Andr.* 19f. (Thessaly), *IT* 32f. (Thoas), *Ph.* 27 (Oedipus), *Hel.* 13f. (Theonoe), *Telephus* fr. 696. 11-13 Kn. (Telephus), *Mel. S.* fr. 481.5f. (land of Aeolis), 14-22 Kn. (Hippo), *Phrixus* fr. 819.7f. Kn. (lands of Kilikia and Phoenike), *Antiope* fr. 181 Kn. (Zethus), *Archelaus* fr. 228.7f. Kn. (Danaoi). I agree with van Looy [27] that the paretymology of Danae's name from *δηναιός* seems rather unlikely to have gone back to Euripides, as I have traced it in this sense ('after a long time') only from Apollonius Rhodius onwards (cf. A.R. 3. 590, 4. 645, 4. 1547, whereas in A. *Eum.* 845, 879 and [A.] *Pr.* 794, 912 it denotes 'ancient').

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[24] Cf. Lee (1997) 163.
[25] Cf. Rein (1926) 129.
[26] Cf. Wilson (1968) 68, van Looy (1973) 348, 354.
[27] Cf. van Looy (1973) 352f.

Hermes also needs to account for his exit (ll. 44-48: he should convey Zeus' message to Danae as soon as possible). The exit has to be motivated, so that the transition from one scene to the next can be attained. Again, the composer of this piece skips the most common reason for divine exit, which is the appearance of the incoming mortal [28] (cf. *Hipp.* 51-53, *Hec.* 52-54, *Ion* 76-78, while in *Alc.* 22-24 Apollo withdraws as he sees Death approaching and in *Ba.* 55-63 Dionysus announces the entrance of the Bacchic chorus).

The questions of the chorus upon its entrance (ll. 49-54) are a common means of stressing anxiety and crisis; cf. *Alc.* 77f. (and Dale 1954, 58), *Med.* 134-136 (and Mastronarde 2002, 192), *Heracl.* 73f., *Tr.* 153f., *Hyps.* 202-215 Bond, *Alcm. Cor.* fr. 74 Kn., also S. *El.* 121-126, *OC* 118-120 and Schmidt (1971) 41f. The parodos ends with the formulaic announcement of an incoming character (l. 61: ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ.., cf. Style), as in *HF* 138f. [29]

It is thus clear that the author had studied the dramatic conventions of Euripidean openings. Nevertheless, there are certain important issues which seem to have slipped his attention. Firstly, the god's indispensable self-introduction is missing; there is a very general reference in l. 27 to Zeus as 'father', which is, after all, a common epithet of Zeus even used by mortals and in l. 47f. he describes himself as servant of the gods, possibly through reminiscence of *Ion* 4 (cf. Lee 1997, *ad loc.*) and [A.] *Pr.* 954. His identity, however, is nowhere clearly stated, as needed; cf. the explicit self-introductions in the divine prologue-speeches in *Alc.* 3f. (Apollo as Asclepius' father), 30 (Apollo clearly addressed by Death), *Hipp.* 2, *Hec.* 3, *Tr.* 2, *Ion* 4, *Ba.* 2, as well as in prologues spoken by mortals in *Med.* 6, *Heracl.* 30, *Andr.* 5, *Supp.* 6, *HF* 2, *El.* 34-38, *IT* 5, *Hel.* 22, *Ph.* 12, *Or.* 23, *Mel. S.* fr. 481.13 Kn., *Telephus* fr. 696.11 Kn. This oversight could have resulted from the author's failure to visualize the prologue as part of a dramatic performance, where the speaker's identity should have been explicitly mentioned; by contrast, on the page his identity is inescapable, because his name is prefixed to the speech.

Secondly, a crucial question arises: what is the benefit from introducing here a divine prologue-speaker rather than a mortal speaker? Gods as prologue-speakers are in a position of superiority, that is, they possess information unknown to the dramatic characters, of which the audience needs to be aware, in order to follow the dramatic action (cf. the

[28] Cf. Halleran (1985) 8 and n. 18.
[29] Cf. Nauck's note *ad loc.*

prologues of the *Hippolytus, Hecabe,*[30] *Trojan Women, Ion, Bacchae*).[31] Moreover, divine prologue-speakers provide hints at future events, in order to excite the dramatic interest, without, however, destroying it, as the possibility of surprises is left open (cf. the prologue-prophecies in *Alc.* 65-76 and *Ion* 67-73, which are challenged later in the play).[32] At the same time, by motivating dramatic action divine prologue-speeches give scope for exploring contradictions, such as the interplay between internal and external motivation (cf. the prologues of the *Hippolytus, Trojan Women* and *Bacchae*).[33] The detached divine prologue thus aims to give a sense of strong temporal continuity, by projecting past events into the future along with the causal nexus which produces the future.[34] Hermes' appearance, however, does not seem to serve any of these purposes; he vaguely accounts for his role, which is, presumably, to reveal to Danae that she was impregnated by Zeus (cf. above). Such a case would be unparalleled in Euripides' divine prologues, since gods as prologue-speakers are typically and strictly detached from mortal dramatic characters.[35] Instead, Hermes' announcement to Danae about her impregnation by Zeus could have been mentioned by a mortal prologue-speaker well aware of past events (e.g. Danae or her nurse, cf. Plot-Structure) in the context of the *προπεπραγμένα* (cf. similarly *Hel.* 56-58, where Helen recalls Hermes' words to her). Hence, the god's appearance, at least as justified by the author of this piece, does not seem to aim at any obvious dramatic benefit (cf. also the discussion about Hermes' role in *Danae, Dramatis Personae*).

It is also noteworthy that the *parodos* occupies fifteen lines only, which is unparalleled in tragedy. The ode gives the substance but not the length or level of detail expected, nor is there any attempt at responsion. The lyric dialect is not followed throughout (cf. l. 53), though this could be attributed to errors through the transmission of the text. The female chorus announces Acrisius' entrance (ll. 61-63). The king is reproaching a male character (cf. *εὐνοῶν*), whose identity is unclear, as he has not been announced by the chorus nor addressed by Acrisius in an apostrophe; this

[30] Cf. Strohm (1977) 126-128.
[31] Cf. Erbse (1984) 41f., 46, 48, 58, 72f., 81.
[32] Cf. Hamilton (1978) 278-302, Goward (1999) 122f., Halleran (1985) 28, n. 25.
[33] Cf. Easterling (1993) 80f., 84f.
[34] See Segal (1992) 110.
[35] *op. cit.*, 106.

may be another case of oversight in terms of the visualization of the dramatic performance by the author.

Conclusion

On the basis of this survey, this piece may seem likelier to have been an independent composition, such as a rhetorical exercise, rather than a specially composed supplement for the lost beginning of the *Danae*. In either case, its author evidently aimed to imitate Euripidean openings and drew on the sources for Danae's legend, particularly Lucian, whom he may have regarded as inspired by Euripides' play. This piece is thus suggestive of the popularity of Euripidean technique, of Danae's legend and possibly of the appeal of his treatment of the legend in late Antiquity. Certain cases of inconsistency with the known evidence for the *Danae* may have resulted from the author's wish for a freer composition or from his lack of access at least to the part of the play before Acrisius' discovery. The composition points to someone who had studied tragedy closely, being able to imitate tragic vocabulary, style and metre; the date of his activity, however (some time between the fourth and seventh century AD), made the intrusion of later words and the application of looser metrical canons inevitable. Furthermore, the author of this tragic opening took main Euripidean dramatic conventions into account, failing, on the other hand, to 'digest' the function of gods as prologue-speakers and to avoid certain oversights in terms of dramatic technique.

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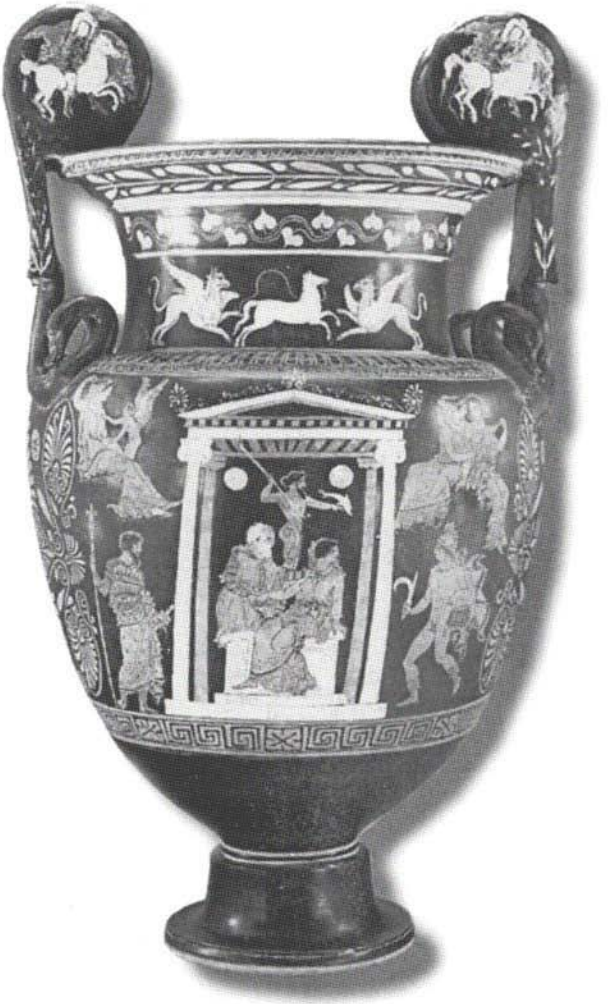
PLATES

PLATE I



Apulian red-figure volute-crater, obverse (*Dictys* T3)
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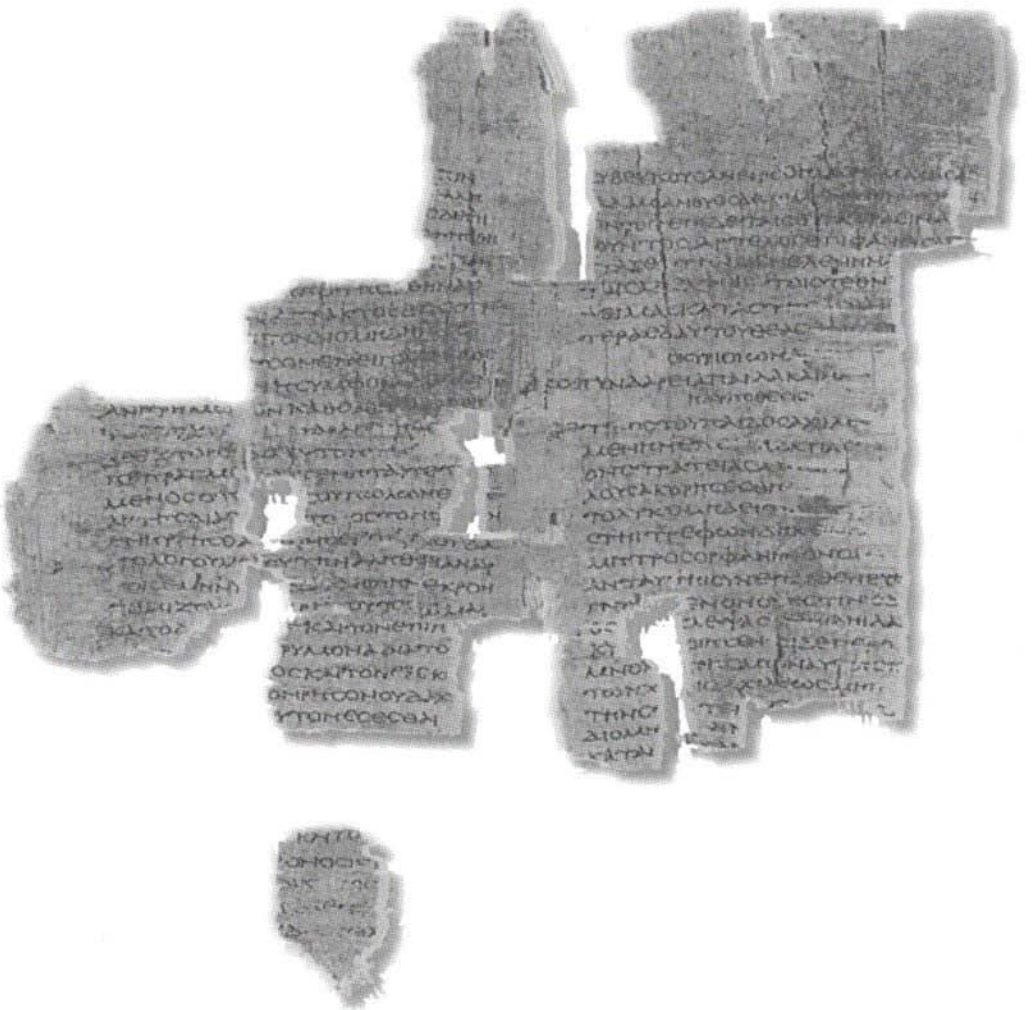

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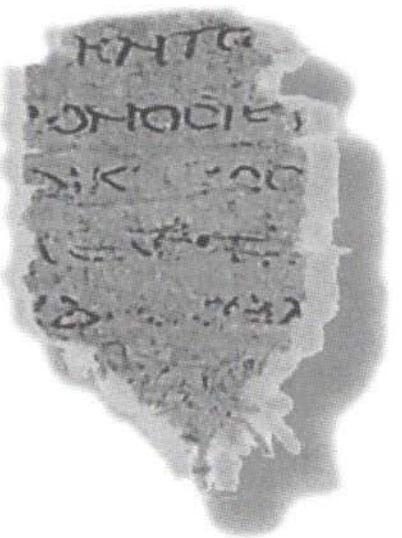

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